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AN UNFINISHED MONOLITH COLUMN IN MAḤNEH YEHŪDAH QUARTER, JERUSALEM

A LARGE monolith shaft, which still lies on the bed of the quarry whence it was to be hewn, was discovered in the Maḥneh Yehūdah Quarter, Jerusalem, during the excavation of the foundations of a building in November 1934.

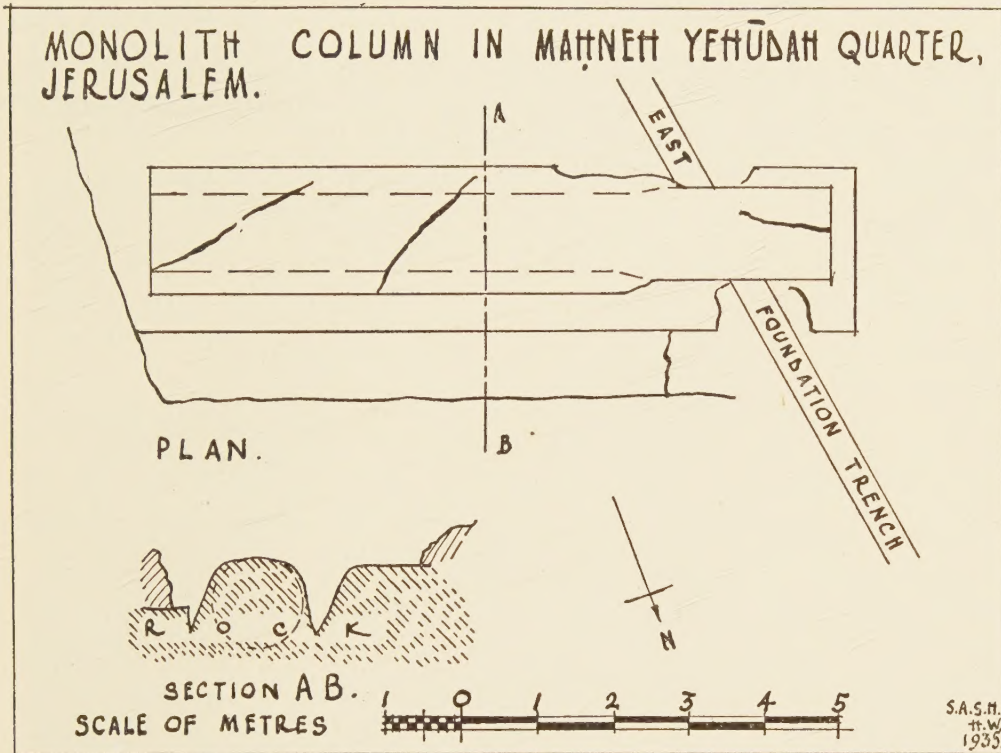


FIG. 1.

The shaft was covered with a modern filling of fine earth and rubbish. Iron rods, which at some recent time must have been placed to fence this column, were also found standing on the rock that flanks it (Pl. I and plan).

The column shaft is 9 m. long and 1.25 m. in diameter, the west end is cylindrical in shape for about 2 m. in length, while the remaining part is not entirely cylindrical but bulges out about 20 cm. on both sides. On the north side the bed of the rock stands high up almost level with the top of the shaft, while on the south side it is only 25 cm. high. The stone is hewn away obliquely on both sides in a V shape (Plan and section, Fig. 1). Three serious

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splits appear in the body of the shaft, and this perhaps explains why the column remained unfinished in its quarry bed.

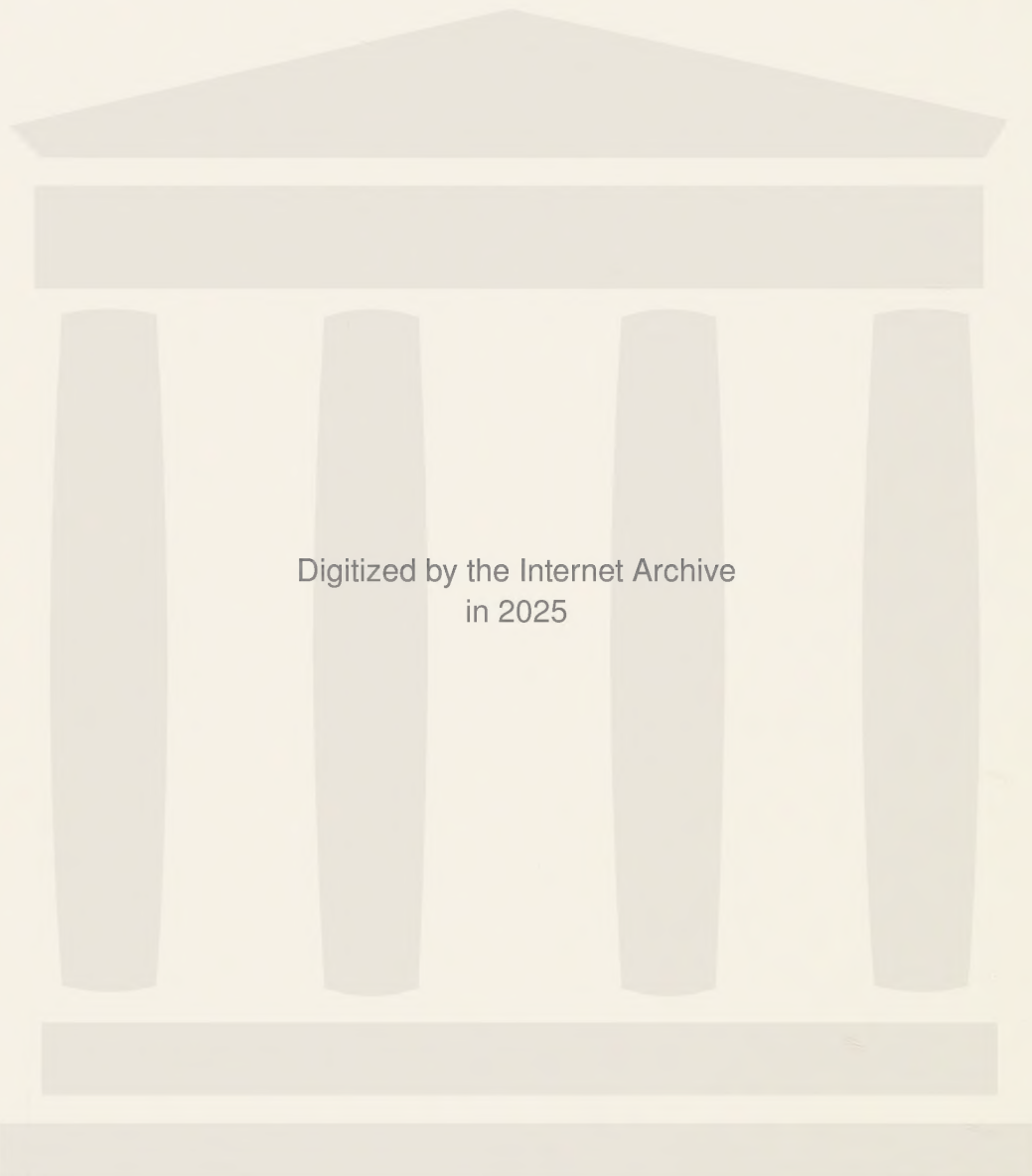
It may be interesting to compare the dimensions of this shaft with those given by Josephus for the pillars in the Royal Cloisters of Herod's Temple, viz. 27 feet.¹ Thus there is only a difference of two feet between the height of these pillars and that of our unfinished shaft. It is therefore possible that it was originally meant to take its place in the cloister of Herod, but that on discovery of the three splits mentioned above it was left unfinished.

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¹ Ant. XV, 11, 5. But cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vol. I, p. 256; similar columns found in quarries near Jerusalem are referred to in Canon Hanauer's *Walks in and around Jerusalem*, 2nd ed., London, 1926, p. 303, Fig. 169.



AN UNFINISHED MONOLITH COLUMN IN MAḤNEH YEHŪDAH
QUARTER, JERUSALEM, LOOKING WEST



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TWO ROMAN CISTERNS AT BEIT NATTĪF

IN the course of extracting stones from a plot of ground at Beit Nattīf¹ in 1917, a villager discovered a pit giving access to two ancient cisterns full of earth. Together with other villagers, he started removing the earth from the first of these, referred to in what follows as Cistern I, for covering the roofs of the mud-brick huts in the village. Lamps and fragments of terra-cotta figurines began to turn up, and found their way to the market. The cisterns remained open for three years, when the civil authorities, on hearing about them, ordered them to be closed. In October 1934, the landlord applied to the Government for permission to re-open them, but the Department of Antiquities, on learning of the nature of the objects found previously in Cistern I, undertook to have them cleared by members of its staff.

Cistern I

This cistern is cut in the friable limestone rock, known locally as *nari*. It has two means of access, one by a door in the east side, and the second by an opening in the roof, known locally as a *rozanah*² (see plan).³ A number of rock-cut steps start outside the cistern (Pl. II, 2), and continue inside it (Pl. II, 1). The last of these is lunar in plan and expands along the whole width of the interior of the cistern. From its south end, a further series of steps leads down to the west of the cistern, the lowest step again expanding along the whole width. The cistern had been plastered at one time with a layer of gritty mud about 2.5 cm. thick (note the dark patches over the entrance and on the walls in Pl. II, 1), but the greater portion of the plaster has since fallen off.

The debris in the cistern is more or less divisible into four layers, viz. a layer of black earth, varying in thickness from a metre near the east door to a few centimetres near the west end. Practically nothing was found in this. The next layer below consisted of fragments of friable stone, 30 cm. in thickness, most likely fallen from the roof and sides. In this layer a number of lamps and fragments of figurines were found. The third layer, which is composed of brown earth, is 50 cm. thick and contained the greater number of the lamps and figurines discovered. The fourth and lowest stratum was a heavy mass of mud, varying from 3 m. in thickness under the *rozanah* to 2 m. near the west end. It contained a few Hellenistic toy vases (Pl. III, 6, 7), a large number of ribbed

¹ Palestine Exploration Fund Map 1/63360, Sheet XVII, square J-u.

² From the Persian روزن, 'a window; an aperture in the middle of the house for allowing the smoke to escape, a louvre window'. Cf. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 594, col. 1.

³ Kindly drawn by Mr. T. A. L. Concannon.

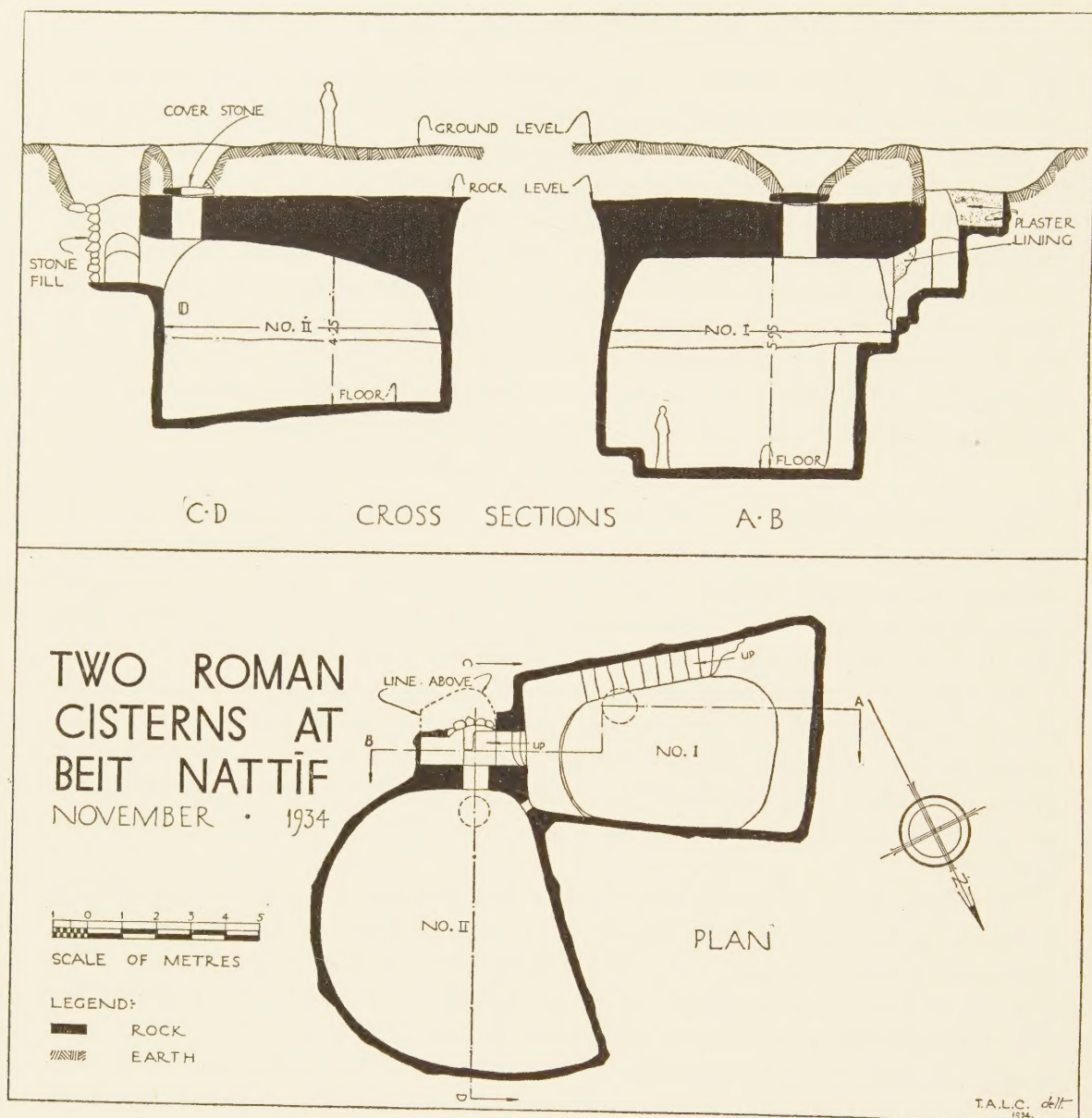


FIG. 1.

TWO ROMAN CISTERNS AT BEIT NATTIF

potsherds, including a good proportion of fragments of Roman cooking-pots, a few fragments of terra sigillata, and spouts of lamps of the first century,¹ which show evidence of previous use.

The objects discovered in the second and third layers include: (a) terra-cotta figurines, mostly in fragments, of horse riders² (Pls. III, 3; IV), women dancing and holding objects in their hands (Pl. V, 2), and nude women with the right hand over the breasts and the left on the pudenda (Pl. V, 6). Some of these women may have been standing between two columns capped by a gable as in Pl. II, 3,³ as fragments of such columns and gables were found (Pl. IX, 1, 5). They were all made in moulds.

(b) A large assortment of Roman lamps that do not show any sign of previous use. Some of these were found whole, others with the tops separated from the bases, but the majority in fragments. It is interesting to observe in this connexion that in some cases the tops and bases seem never to have been stuck together. The lamps may be divided into two classes, viz. (i) large buff plain lamps, and (ii) small red-painted ones. The large lamps have flat tops, but in a few instances the tops are rounded round the edges (Pl. VII, 1, 9). The oil holes are small and surrounded by various designs such as gladiators in combat⁴ (Pl. VI, 1), a gladiator fighting a leopard (Pl. III, 2), a human face surrounded by vine leaves and bunches of grapes (Pl. VI, 2), flying birds (Pl. VI, 3), a peacock,⁵ holding a bunch of grapes in its beak (Pl. VII, 7), and another not (Pl. VII, 8), a bird holding grapes in its beak (Pl. VII, 9), a dove carrying a wreath in its beak (Pl. VI, 5), a swastika (Pl. VII, 1, 2), four wreaths each enclosing a circular ring (Pl. VII, 5) and other geometric patterns (Pl. VII, 3, 4).

The small red-painted lamps, which outnumber the large lamps considerably, were made in inferior moulds. The oil holes are very large, and leave no room for designs. The sides, however, are decorated with simple designs, similar in some cases to the designs around the sides of the large lamps (cf. Pl. VII, 7 and Pl. VI, 8). Most of them have rounded tops, but two have flat ones (Pl. VI, 11, 12). Some have the following inscription on their

¹ Cf. Sukenik, 'A Jewish tomb-cave on the slopes of Mt. Scopus' (in *Qobes*, *JPES*, 1934-5), p. 72, Fig. 9, top three lamps.

² It is impossible here to state whether the riders were male or female, as all, with the exception of one having a female head (Pl. IV, 1), have lost their heads. All the loose heads discovered have female features; some riders (Pl. IV, 2, 4) carry shields and spears.

³ Kindly lent by Dr. A. Reifenberg.

⁴ Here the males can be distinguished by their sexual organs.

⁵ It is curious to note the manner in which the long feathers on the head and tail are represented by straight lines ending in circles.

bases, running in reverse order, ΜΗΘΕΙ¹ ΖΑΝΝΥC (Pl. VI, 15), ΜΝΘΕ ΖΑΝ, or only ΖΑΝΝΥC (Pl. VI, 6).²

From the mass of potsherds discovered it has not been possible to put together more than one complete pot (Pl. III, 8). A complete ribbed jug was discovered over the stone layer (Pl. III, 5).

Other objects include a spoon and a needle in ivory (Pl. V, 8), a fragment of a bronze pin and three blue paste beads,³ a broken mould for making lamps.

A list of the coins discovered is appended.

The digging of the cistern can be tentatively placed in the first century A.D. In process of time, a large portion of it was filled up by sediment, and it came to be used by about the third century A.D. for some purpose connected with the potter's industry.

Cistern II

Cistern II adjoins Cistern I and lies to the north of the steps giving access to it. It is similarly cut in soft *nari*⁴ rock. Access to it is gained by a door in the south side and a *rozanah*⁵ almost immediately over it. No steps exist inside the cistern, and the drop in front of the door is 3.80 m. (see plan, p. 4). It is plastered with a thick coat of mud mixed with potsherds, covered by a thin smooth coating of lime. Marks left by the different levels of the water can still be seen on the sides. It does not communicate with Cistern I, except by a later break in the wall in its west corner (see plan).

The debris in this cistern can be divided into five layers, viz. a layer of black earth which decreases in thickness the farther it is from the door; below this there is a layer of red earth, 50 cm. thick, which is followed by a large heap of stones, 2.60 m. high below the *rozanah* and ending 2.90 m. from the north end of the cistern. Another layer of red earth exists below the stones, while the floor of the cistern is covered by a layer of mud 15–30 cm. thick. The first and fifth layers contained absolutely nothing, all the objects being found in the 2nd–4th layers, but mostly in the stone heap.

The following is a brief description of the objects discovered, which are far more fragmentary than those found in Cistern I: (a) Figurines of horse riders in fragments (Pl. VIII, 1, 4, 5, 7–9), some horses having coarse hair (Pl. VIII, 2); naked women wearing necklaces, dancing with upraised hands holding

¹ = μνησθῆ? For the use of this formula cf. especially Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, p. 38; Mousterde in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth*, Tome VIII, pp. 449, 450.

² It may be of interest to mention that there is a ruin called Khirbet Zanū, lying 2 km. north of Beit Nattif and commonly identified with Zanoah (cf. Joshua xv. 34).

³ Cf. *QDAP*, Vol. I, Pl. IV, 10.

⁴ Similar to Cistern I.

⁵ Cf. footnote 2 on p. 3 above.

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objects in their palms (Pl. IX, 2); nude women with the right hand over the breasts and the left on the pudenda (Pl. IX, 6, 10, 11); birds (Pl. VIII, 3); torsos of women (Pl. IX, 12, 13, 18); and heads of human beings (Pl. IX, 3, 4, 7-9) and beasts (Pl. VIII, 6), broken off similar figurines.

(b) Red-painted small and plain large lamps showing no signs of previous use.

The designs on the nozzles of the painted lamps are of some importance, and include the 'menorah' with a 'shofar' at the foot to the left and a rectangular object to the right (Pl. X, 24);¹ an amphora² (Pl. X, 18); a shell (Pl. X, 19, 21, &c.); a triangle (Pl. X, 8); a figure of eight and other interlacing lines (Pl. X, 9-11, 14); palm branches³ or trees, some bearing dates (Pl. X, 7, 13); and cruciform and other floral designs (Pl. XI, 5, 13). The oil hole is fairly large, but allows of a few geometric patterns around. In one instance, however, there is sufficient room for an animal (Pl. XI, 2). The unpainted lamps are buff in colour and have very small

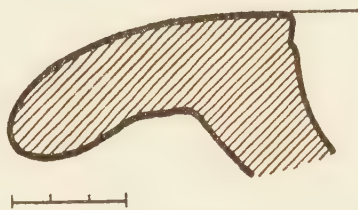
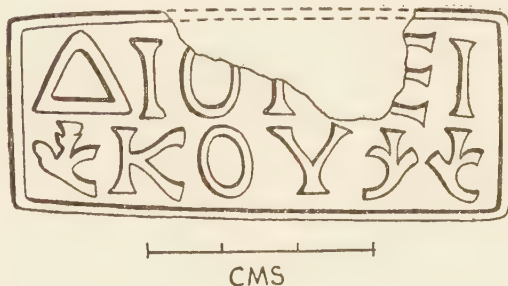


FIG. 2.

holes, the space around which is decorated with various designs, including a cock (Pl. XI, 24), a peacock carrying grapes in its beak (Pl. XI, 19), differing slightly from those found in Cistern I; an eight-pointed star formed by one square superimposed diagonally over the other (Pl. XI, 23), and other geometric patterns (Pl. XI, 21, 22). The rest of the tops of these lamps are decorated with geometric patterns or vine and other branches (Pl. XI, 17-24).

(c) Moulds for making lamps, depicting more or less the same designs as on the red-painted lamps (Pl. XII).

The rest of the objects discovered include two ivory pins (Pl. IX, 16, 17), a rim of a jar stamped in Greek with the letters in two lines as shown in Fig. 2, a brown glass bottle (Pl. IX, 15), several broken pieces of glass, and a considerable amount of ribbed potsherds, including fragments of cooking-pots. A list of the coins found is appended.

¹ This is the object discussed in this *Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 122 and n. 4.

² Cf. *B.M. Cat. of Gr. Coins: Palestine*, Pl. XXXVI, Nos. 1-3 (reverses), and Reifenberg in *ἹΠΟΣ*, Vol. XI, p. 65 and Pl. III.

³ Palm trees also occur on coins of the 2nd Revolt, *B.M. Cat.*, *l. c.* Nos. 6-9.

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What was said about the date and use of Cistern I may be here repeated about Cistern II. However, the lamps are very dissimilar in form and decoration, and whereas the motives on lamps in Cistern I were entirely pagan, many of those on lamps in Cistern II are Jewish.

D. C. BARAMKI.

LIST OF THE COINS IN CISTERN I

(All are of bronze, except that the antoniniani have the usual traces of a silver wash.)

<i>Date.</i> B.C.	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Size.</i> mm.	<i>References.</i>
103-76	ALEXANDER JANNAEUS. (Smaller anchor-wheel series.)	12	<i>B.M.C., Palestine</i> , p. 210, and <i>P.E.F., Quarterly Statement</i> , <i>P.E.F.</i> 1927, pp. 184 ff.
A.D. 37-44	HEROD AGRIPPA I. Umbrella; BAC---. <i>Rev.</i> Three ears of barley; in field, L ☿.	17	<i>B.M.C.</i> , p. 236.
31-32	THE PROCURATORS. Lituus; TIBEP---. <i>Rev.</i> Wreath containing (L) H.	16	<i>B.M.C.</i> , p. 259 (No. 78, &c.).
54	THE PROCURATORS. Inscr. in wreath (illegible). <i>Rev.</i> Two palm-branches crossed; around: TIKAAΥΔIOC--; in field: L I Δ.	17	<i>B.M.C.</i> , p. 261.
c. 70	JUDAEA CAPTA. <i>Titus</i> , head r. laur. (inscr. illegible). <i>Rev.</i> Trophy; IOVΔ--.	22	<i>B.M.C.</i> , p. 276 (No. 2 similar).
c. 70	JUDAEA CAPTA. <i>Titus</i> , head r. laur. <i>Rev.</i> Trophy (illegible).	24	<i>B.M.C.</i> , p. 277. (No. 7 similar).
1st cent.	SEBASTE? <i>Nero</i> ? Bust r. laur. (illegible). <i>Rev.</i> Traces of female figure in short chiton, standing to front, resting l. hand on sceptre; ---THNΩN.	17	
" "	ANTIOCH. <i>Vespasian</i> ? Head r. laur.; - - - AVG; on neck, square countermark: Athena stand- ing r. holding spear and shield. <i>Rev.</i> S C in wreath.	28	Cf. <i>B.M.C., Galatia</i> , p. 179, No. 235, a similar coin of <i>Titus</i> bear- ing the same countermark.

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<i>Date.</i> A.D.	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Size.</i> mm.	<i>References.</i>
1st cent.	ANTIOCH. <i>Vespasian</i> ; head l. laur. (illegible). <i>Rev.</i> S C in wreath.	25	
161-180	AELIA OF GAZA? <i>M. Aurelius and L. Verus or Commodus</i> ; busts confronted (illegible). <i>Rev.</i> Completely obliterated.	25	
2nd-3rd cent.	RAPHIA? Bust of an emperor, bearded, r. laur. (illegible). <i>Rev.</i> Traces of city goddess, standing, holding cornucopiae.	22	
ANTONINIANI			
276-281	CYZICUS. <i>Probus</i> ; bust r. radiate, draped; IMPCMAVRPROBVSPFAVG. <i>Rev.</i> Victory standing r. holding palm presenting wreath to emperor standing l. holding spear; CONCORDIAMILITVM <u>T</u> XXIMC	22	Cf. Webb, P. H., <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , edited by Mattingly and Sydenham, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 117, No. 908.
283-285	TRIPOLIS. <i>Carinus</i> ; bust r. radiate, cuirassed; IMPCMAVRCARINVSPFAVG. <i>Rev.</i> Emperor standing r. receiving globe from male figure standing l.; VIRTVS AV GG <u>TR</u> XXI	23	<i>Ib.</i> , p. 179, No. 329.
284-305 (Pl. III, 4)	CYZICUS? <i>Diocletian</i> ; bust r. radiate, cuirassed; IMPCCVALDIOCLETIANVSPFAVG. <i>Rev.</i> Emperor standing r. receiving Victory from Jupiter standing l. holding sceptre; CONCORDIAM I LITVM <u>KΓ</u>	21	Cf. <i>ib.</i> , p. 249, No. 284, from the mint of Heraclea.

In addition there are four coins (one showing traces of an emperor's bust in first-century style) that are too much corroded to be identifiable.

LIST OF THE COINS IN CISTERN II

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Size.</i>	<i>References.</i>
253-268	ASIA. <i>Salonina</i> (Antoninianus) (diademed and draped). Bust r. on crescent, SALONINA AVG <i>Rev.</i> Juno standing l. holding patera and sceptre; at foot on l., peacock. IVNOREGINA	22	Cf. Webb, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 200, No. 92.

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<i>Date.</i> A.D.	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Size.</i> mm.	<i>References.</i>
248-251	AELIA. <i>Trajan Decius.</i> Bust r. laur. ---CIVSAVG <i>Rev.</i> City goddess, wearing short chiton standing l., r. foot raised on uncertain object; l. hand resting on sceptre; r. holding human bust, above which eagle r.; in field r. Nike l. on a column extending wreath to crown goddess; in field l., amphora. COL(AE)-----	24	<i>B.M.C., Palestine</i> , p. 99, No. 98.



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TWO ROMAN CISTERNS AT BEIT NATTIF



TWO ROMAN CISTERNS AT BEIT NATTIF



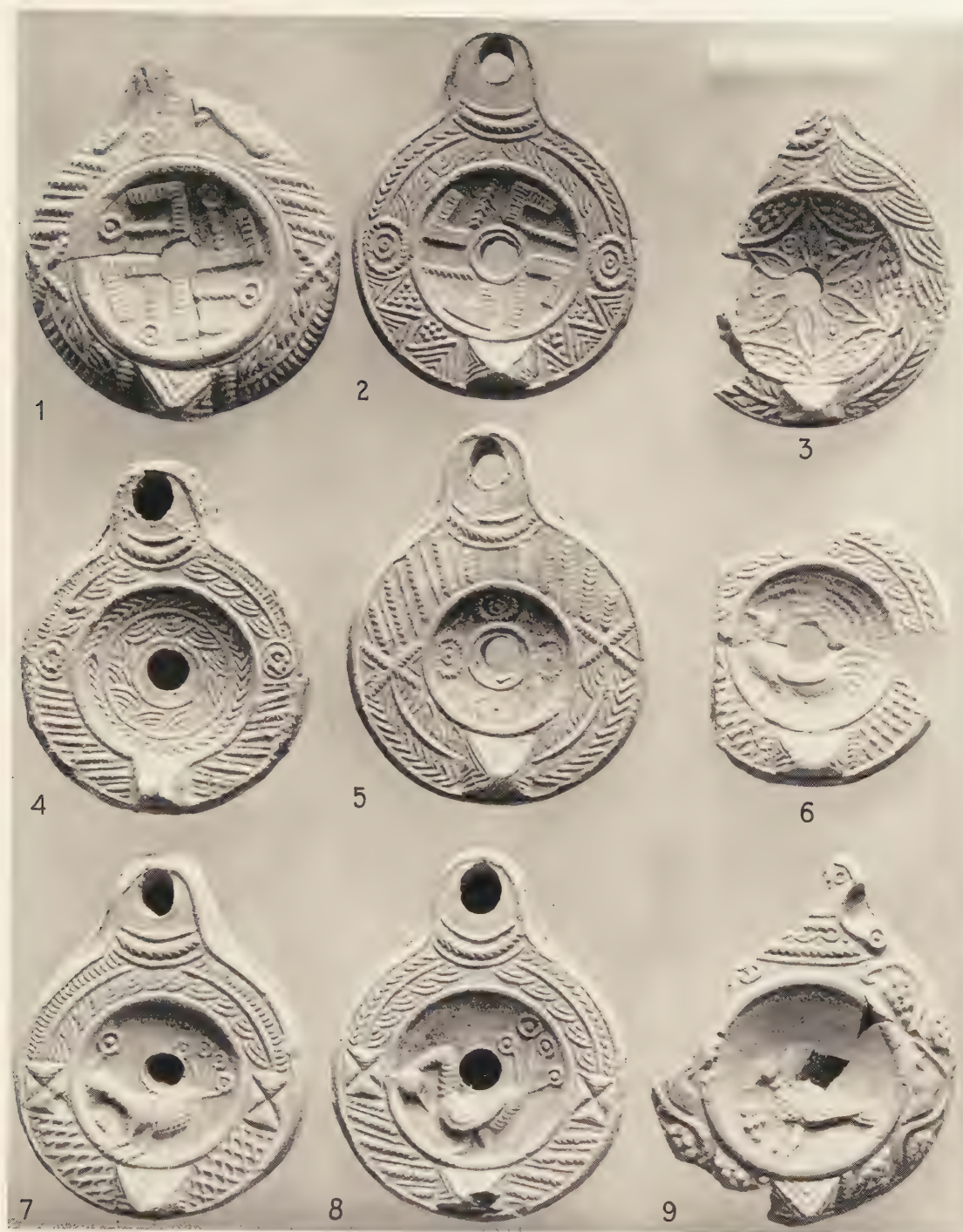
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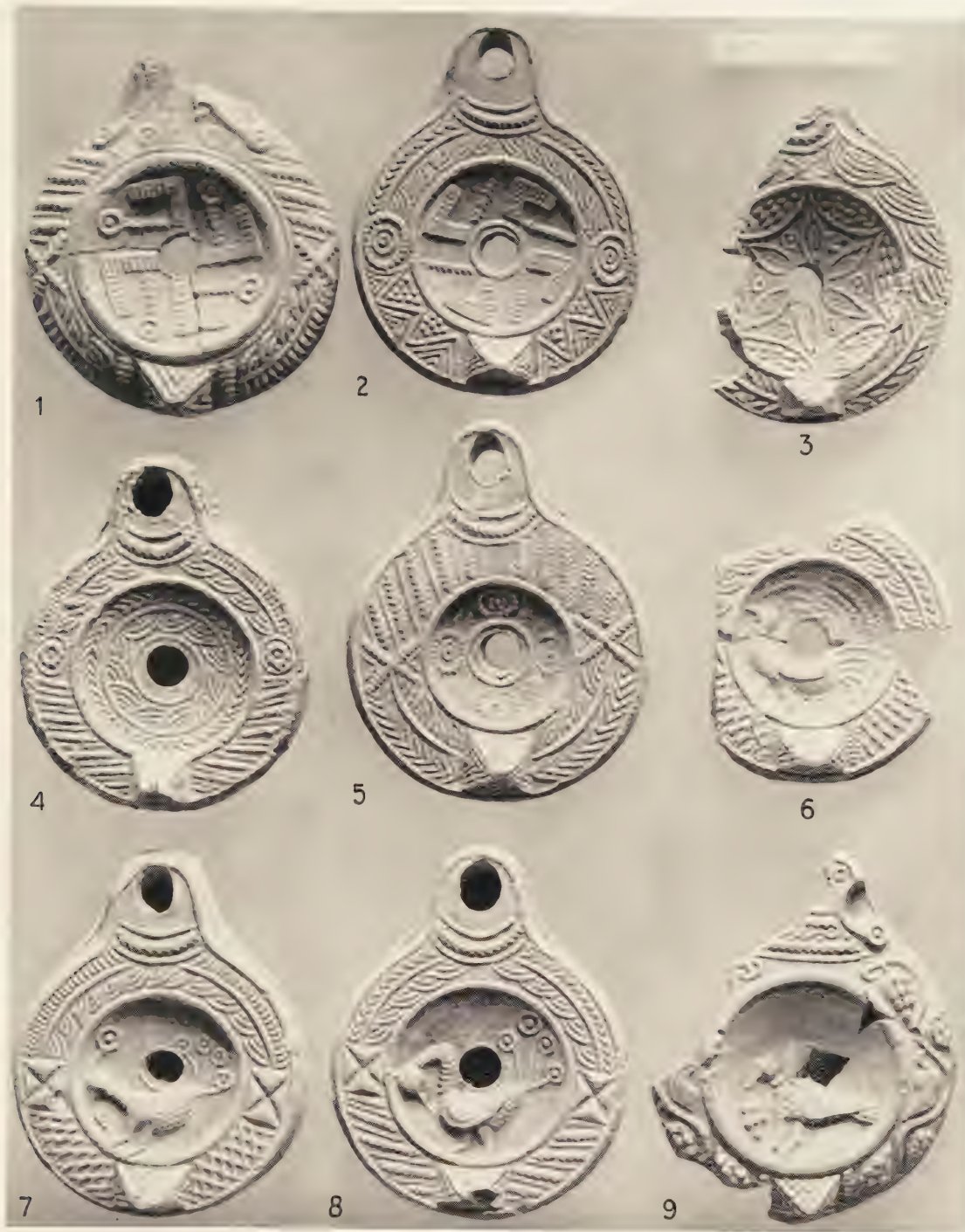
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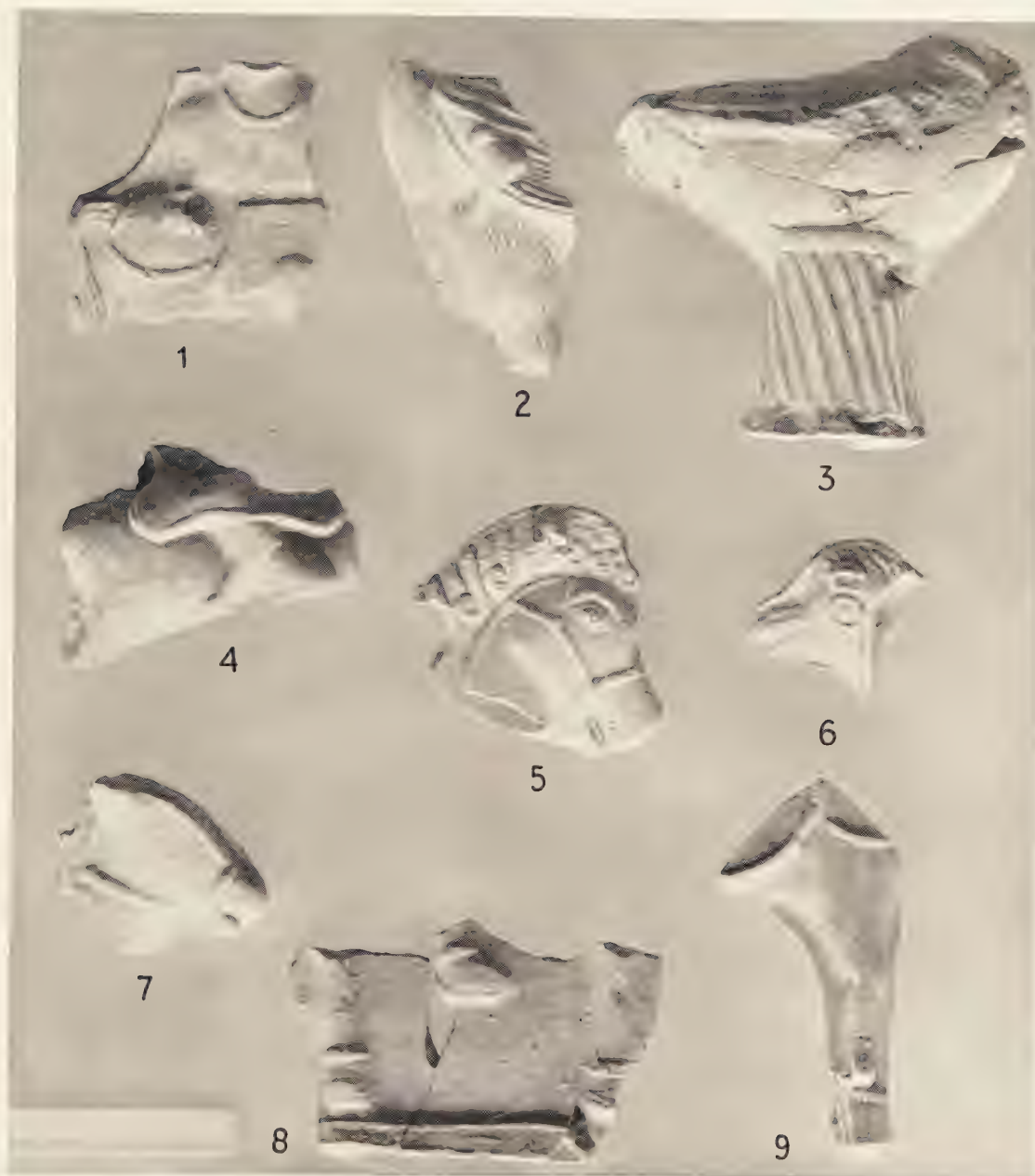
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TWO ROMAN CISTERNS AT BEIT NATTIF

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS AT EL ḤAMMĀM, BEISĀN

THE great cemetery of Beisān, 'one of the largest, if not quite the largest, of all the ancient cemeteries in Palestine',¹ stretches along the north bank of the river Jalud opposite the high mound of Beth-Shan, now Tell el Husn. Its hundreds of tombs cover the slopes of two low hills, the ravine separating them, and overflow on a terrace to the north-east, overlooking the River Jordan. The western of the two hills, Tell el Mastaba, was once crowned by the Monastery of the Lady Mary excavated by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald in 1931.² The terrace ca. 1 km. to the east of it is called to-day el Ḥammām from an old vaulted cistern(?) of Arab date standing at its western extremity. The whole surface of the terrace is covered by heaps of basalt stones roughly dressed, fragments of fine glass, ribbed pottery, tesserae, fragments of limestone column shafts and bases, with occasionally a broken sarcophagus or a stone lintel of a tomb. The terrace thus appears to be a Byzantine extension of the original cemetery which occupies the slopes facing the town.³

Apart from a few simple caves cut in the slope the tombs in this part of the cemetery consist of a chamber with two or three arcosolia spanned over by vaults of the characteristic Byzantine construction met with in Syria and the Negeb. Two or three broad parallel arches have their spandrels filled up with rubble and the intervals covered with flat slabs laid from the one to the other.⁴ The tomb chamber was entered by a flight of low steps leading down from an opening sealed by a big slab. Over the vaults of the more elaborate tombs small funerary chapels were constructed, to judge from the existence of mosaic pavements and foundations. Most of the pavements had plain white tesserae; a few had some geometric ornaments.⁵ In the course of a hurried inspection of the site seven or eight such pavements could be seen in section in various tomb-robbers' holes.

The necropolis of Beisān has been thoroughly rifled in Turkish times, as can be seen from the appearance of the site (Pl. XIII, 1), which is fairly studded with holes made by the robbers.⁶ It was in the section of one of such

¹ A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 2.

² G. M. FitzGerald in *QSt.*, 1931, pl. 62 f.; *ibid.*, 1932, p. 147.

³ According to Mr. Rowe, *loc. cit.*, the oldest tombs are found at the top of the cemetery slope, while those of the other periods are found to have been cut here and there over the whole of the valley side.

⁴ Woolley and Lawrence in the *PEF. Annual*, Vol. III, 1914-15, p. 77, Pl. XXI.

⁵ An inscribed mosaic pavement from this terrace dated 521-2 A.D. was published by Mr. FitzGerald (*QSt.*, 1932, p. 148, Pl. V) and commented upon by Prof. A. Alt (*ZDPV*, 1932, pp. 128-32) and Père Vincent (*RB.*, 1933, pp. 555 ff.).

⁶ Nearly the whole cemetery has been thus rifled, see G. M. FitzGerald in *QSt.*, 1931, p. 62; *ibid.*, 1932, p. 147.

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holes breaking into a vault below that Mr. N. Makhouly, Inspector of Antiquities, noticed the existence of two superimposed pavements, the upper of which seemed from its rich colours and small tesserae to indicate the existence of a mosaic pavement of superior quality. A small trial clearance brought to light the picture of a pheasant and two female ibexes enclosed in circular medallions formed by vine branches. The whole pavement was thereupon

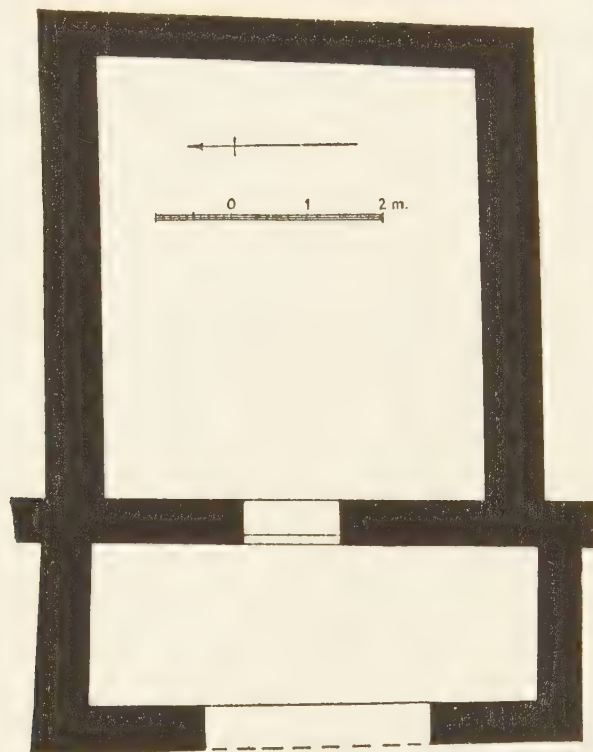


FIG. 1.

cleared at the end of February 1934 by Mr. Makhouly and the author. After the removal of the upper pavement to the Palestine Archaeological Museum the lower pavement was cleared by Mr. Makhouly at the end of May 1934.

The excavations revealed the existence of a main hall (north wall 5 m. 95, south wall 5 m. 75, east and west walls 5 m.), connected by a door in the west wall with a narthex (north wall 2 m. 20, south wall 2 m., east and west walls 5 m. 90). The walls of both rooms were still standing to a height of 65 cm. (Pl. XIII, 1) on the west side, where, owing to the greater height of the debris the wall was best preserved. The foundations of the eastern wall of the hall

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS AT EL ḤAMMĀM, BEISĀN

showed no indication of an apse. The whole was surrounded by substructures of some subsidiary rooms, of whose pavements no trace is left.

The walls were built of roughly squared basalt blocks set in rubble and covered with three layers of plaster.¹ The foundations were enormously strong and well laid with big irregular blocks of stone wedged one into the other. The topmost of the three coats of plaster shows traces of a marble covering; several thin flat pieces of marble were found in the debris filling the chamber. In the narthex fragments of brick tiles were also found; Byzantine ribbed pottery was prominent everywhere.

As in most Byzantine constructions the walls were joined at very irregular angles (see plan), a fact which caused some inconvenience to the mosaic artist, as will be seen below. Further, the narthex projected on the right beyond the south wall of the main hall. The two rooms were joined by a threshold made of two stones, the larger of which had a circular hole for the door socket. At some subsequent period the originally wider door was partly blocked up. The original door-post is embedded in the wall on the left, with the plaster still adhering to what was once its outer face (Pl. XIII, 1). Stones, perhaps the remains of door-posts, were found near the door, while other stones were found on the floor, in consequence of the collapse of the walls of the chamber. One of these stones measured 50 cm. by 27 by 20.

A. *The Upper Pavement* (Pls. XIV/XV)

The upper pavement of the main hall was damaged in five places; of these breaks the two biggest, viz. one starting from the south-west corner and the other near the eastern wall, were made by tomb-robbers, who also left outside the room several heaps of earth mixed with tesserae and fragments of spirally-ribbed glass vessels. Of the remaining breaks the one near the door and the long break in the centre did not go deeper than the lower pavement, part of which can be seen on Pls. XIV/XV near the door. Considering the size of the stones and the mass of earth found on the pavement, the damage—apart from that done by the tomb-robbers—is not great. This is no doubt due to a large extent to the excellent quality of the workmanship. Parts of the pavement supported, while hanging in the void, the weight of a workman and of 50 cm. of earth and stones. On the whole the really serious losses are that in the south-west corner and especially that of the central medallions. Nine medallions are thus lost out of an original total of fifty-six.

In the narthex the damage is more serious. Here the whole centre and almost all the left side of the pavement are lost, together with a good part of the right

¹ Cf. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, p. 181.

side. Owing to the fact that here the lowest pavement was only a few centimetres below the upper it suffered damage also in its central part, while a third pavement was found at a different level on the right. The loss of the centre part of the narthex pavement is the more serious as it contained probably an inscription and quite possibly also a date.

1. *The Hall.* The pavement of the hall shows a single panel covered with the winding branches of a huge vine trellis which springs from an acanthus leaf in the centre of the border nearest to the entrance. The branches form fifty-six medallions in eight rows of seven medallions each.¹

In the lowest row we see on both sides of the acanthus leaf (light and dark green) two peacocks in blue and green, followed by two men hurrying towards the centre, each with a basket full of grapes on his back held by his left hand and a vintager's knife² in his right (Pl. XVII, 4). Of the man on the right there remain fragments only. In the corner we find a basket (*cista*)³ (light and dark yellow) filled with pink fruit.

In the second row we find hares (light and dark yellow) eating grapes in the first and fourth medallions (from the left). In the second medallion are three pomegranates, in the third a chukar partridge (*Alectoris graeca*),⁴ in the fifth two crows(?) or doves. The other two medallions are lost.

In the third row there are two female pheasants in the first medallion, a basket with apples in the sixth, while the second to fifth medallions are occupied by a single scene. A man holding a club in his right hand and covering his right arm with a red cloak in the manner of the Spanish bull-fighters urges on a big mastiff⁵ with a collar, which chases two sheep flying to the left. The seventh medallion (now fragmentary) showed two water-melons.

The next, i.e. fourth, row is filled with two of the principal motifs of the pavement. In the first two medallions on the left a hunter armed with a spear attacks a boar (splendidly done in black, red, and dark orange stripes) charging him at full speed (Pl. XVII, 2). This is followed by a more peaceful vintage scene occupying the next three medallions. Three men dressed only in blue loin-cloths tread grapes with outstretched arms in a

¹ The number of medallions in the horizontal row of a vine trellis on mosaic pavements is usually odd, see my *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, p. 80 of the offprint. ² See below, p. 21 and n. 2.

³ Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionn.*, s.v. 'cista', Vol. III, col. 1729.

⁴ I have to thank Professor F. S. Bodenheimer and Mr. Mendelssohn of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for their identifications of the animals shown on the mosaic.

⁵ This animal is described as a dog and not a lioness, as it wears a collar, resembles animals in the Qabr Hiram mosaic which are certainly dogs, and shows no traces of *mammae*, which are usually depicted where a lioness is represented (as at Beit Jibrin).

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position reminiscent of the representations in catacomb paintings of the three pious youths in the furnace. Further supplies of grapes are brought in a pointed basket carried by a donkey (light and dark grey), richly caparisoned in red. This is one of the best figures of the pavement, showing real powers of observation on the part of the artist. The donkey is driven by a man in a green tunic who, although threatening the animal with a double whip, shares the burden equitably by himself carrying a basket full of grapes. The basket is held in position by a reddish shawl. The seventh medallion has two spur-winged plovers (*Hoplopterus spinosus*) (?). The composition of the round medallion with the two graceful birds is especially remarkable (Pl. XVI, 2).

In the following (fifth) row the artist represented a brown bear chasing two female ibexes (orange and yellow). Then follows a resplendent pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*) in dark brown and purple with green stripes on its neck and a pink head. Next comes another basket with fruit, two chukar partridges of an African variety (*Alectoris barbata*) and a guinea-fowl (*Numida meleagris*), also an African bird.

The sixth row has unfortunately been deprived of its centre medallions by the big break in the middle of the pavement. Its first medallion has a gorgeous duck in light and dark green with pink wings and an orange tail. Then follows a man in a blue tunic sitting on a basket turned upside down and playing on a black pipe. Next is a somewhat enigmatic scene (Pl. XVII, 6) which seems to represent a basket with grapes spilled by the action of some animal, most likely a hare to judge by its tail and paws, whose hind legs and haunch project from the basket. The explanation of this scene might lie in the Italian way of snaring hares, as described by Prof. Strzygowski.¹ A basket is placed on the earth with its mouth open and with an arrangement of ropes permitting it to be closed suddenly. The mouth is surrounded by various baits. Hares looking for protection against the cold of the night enter the basket and are caught in the morning when the hunter gathers in the ropes. Some such scene might be represented here.

The loss of the fourth medallion in this row is the more regrettable as it represented a scene in which at least two sitting human figures were taking part; a hand and a foot are all that remains. The fifth and sixth medallions can, on the other hand, be easily interpreted, although partly lost (Pl. XVII, 5). A hunter clad in blue boldly pierces a big cat, a tiger or a leopard, with his lance. The dark brown shaft of the spear, the green spear-point, and the red blood flowing from the wound are most realistically rendered. The stout heart of the hunter is shown by the fact that he is confronted by a monster

¹ *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354*, p. 76.

whose colours alone are enough to frighten the bravest, viz. a blue animal with orange spots. A peaceful hare in yellow and orange devours some grapes in the next medallion, unaware of the life-and-death struggle going on behind his back.

The three remaining medallions of the seventh row contain from left to right: another basket with figs; a cock-fight.¹ One cock has a blue-black body, dark blue and green wings, the other has a light grey body and wings light grey, dark green, and purple. The medallion on the other side of the break shows three long triangular objects in brownish yellow filled with a dark grey and white chequer. Similar objects occur in the border of the Beit Alfa pavement and have been interpreted as goblets (?).² A glance at the donkey in the fifth medallion of the fourth row will show their true identification as the bags used in the transport of grapes from the vineyards to the press.

In the eighth row also only three medallions remain. The first represents a stag with dark orange, light and dark yellow body, and curved grey antlers. This is followed by a goat with long hair, coloured black, blue, and grey. The corner medallion shows a flying antelope in yellow and brown.

Mention should also be made of the framing of the medallions and the filling of the interstices. The branches of the trellis are orange, red, and brown, the stalks and tendrils red, the leaves black and green. The intervals are filled with various kinds of fruits such as apples, pomegranates, figs, pears, but mostly with grapes; in the two interstices below the wine-press are two doves with blue bodies, black tails, and light grey breasts. The grapes are represented in various ways. All have a black outline; the flesh is coloured pink, red, orange, green, or blue. Some have a white or a black dot in the centre; others a black, grey, or white cross; others again are divided into three layers, white, dark grey and pink or white, brown and white. Their form and size vary between a large round shape and an elongated hexagon. It will be noted (Pls. XIV/XV) that the round shape predominates in the eastern part of the pavement, while the red-and-white hexagonal forms are more common in the western half. The cause may be that the master mosaicist entrusted two of his apprentices with the completion of the details of the pavement. Each of the two filled the part assigned to him according to his own mannerism. The significance of this detail will appear later on.

The whole panel is surrounded by a border varying in width. It consists—

¹ Cock-fights were exceedingly popular in antiquity down to Byzantine times. Here they remind us of the common representations on mosaic pavements of games, which themselves had too many painful associations to be used in Christian buildings.

² Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, p. 42, Pl. XXII, 2.

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where fully developed—of two red and white wave-crests (each 6 cm. wide) framing an acanthus scroll on a black background (58 cm.). The scroll is constructed with two pairs of leaves, alternately black and red, with their white fringes turned inwards. Each pair encloses an oval space filled with different kinds of fruit, such as pomegranates, grapes, apples, pears, figs, melons, lemons, dates, &c. In between the fruits and in the spandrels are twigs, trefoils, crosslets, and groups of four sprigs arranged crosswise. The scroll issues from the human heads in the corners, three of which have been preserved (cf. Pl. XVII, 1, 3). The two heads in the north-western and south-eastern corners are bearded, while the head in the north-eastern corner is beardless; so was presumably also that in the south-western corner. The artist has clearly been attempting to endow them with a supernatural or half-human aspect, which at the same time fits in well with the decorative line of the scroll. Their wild hair and moustaches in grey and blue form a natural transition to the scroll, and with their fine shadings are highly decorative in effect. The faces are pink and red, the mouth dark red, the eyes brown, the eyebrows black. In the corners above them are fruits or leaves.

In judging the composition of the pavement we must first consider the aim of the artist; only then are we entitled to decide how far his efforts were successful. Obviously it was not his aim to copy nature or to imitate a painting or even to give a connected and symmetrical representation of a series of related subjects such as he himself used in the narthex. His object was to give a surface agreeably coloured and patterned by using such conventional devices as would help him to subordinate his subjects to the optical unity of the pavement. Thus, with the exception of the lowest row, there is neither symmetry nor logic in the arrangement of the various subjects or groups of subjects. In no case is one scene allowed to fill more than four medallions. Scenes of the chase in the woods and scenes of agricultural labour in the vineyards are shown side by side, without the characters in the one seeming to be aware of what happens in the other. Thus a branch separating two medallions may indicate a complete change of scene or merely a convenient division of one subject. The arrangement of the birds, hares, baskets, and fruits used as stop-gaps are equally haphazard. Some scenes move towards the centre, others towards the border, others again form self-sufficient units. The relative proportions of the objects are subordinated to the exigencies of the spaces to be filled, the latter being always equal. Thus a duck and a man sitting on a basket are represented side by side in the same size; so too hares, cocks, and quails are made equal in size with horses, boars, and tigers. Where two birds are squeezed into one medallion they are represented half the size of a bird to

which a whole medallion has been allotted, even if in nature they are several times as big. Baskets, which in some cases fill a whole medallion, are in others shown quite small on the backs of some of the men. In short, the artist does not see the pavement as a collection of objects to be represented but as a group of spaces to be filled.

However, once due allowance is made for this overriding consideration of the artist, one cannot deny the skill with which it has been followed throughout. It is indeed true that he is not at his best in representing the human figure. Some anatomical details are occasionally well rendered (e.g. the calves of the man urging on the dog), but on the whole the lack of proportion, the short stubby legs and the big heads give all the men the look of children, thus indicating their derivation from the figures of Cupids appearing in the Roman vintage scenes. An interesting detail (Pl. XVI, 2) is the pectoral muscles of the men at the press, which are strongly pronounced with a heavy dark pink shading. This detail can also be observed in the related Mukhaiyyat mosaics, where it led to the supposition that the persons represented there were meant for Lot's daughters.¹ The colouring follows certain rules. The bodies are in shadings of pink, outlined in red; the faces are rendered with very many quite minute tessellae, the mouth red, the eyes black. The hair varies in colour; the three men in the press and the boar-hunter have red hair with a dark border and black shadings in the middle, the pipe-player has purple hair, the donkey-driver brownish, the vintager bright yellow, the man fighting the tiger blue-black. All eyes are shown full-face even in figures running sideways. On the whole, however, the smaller figurines in the main hall are rendered better and have more expression than the larger, but somewhat wooden, figures in the narthex.

The artist has shown his ability in the representations of animals where he was able to reproduce even minute shadings and hues by using his very extensive range of colours. The attitudes of the animals are on the whole conventional; the colouring is occasionally realistic, as in the grey donkey or brown bear, occasionally impressionistic, as in the boar, where the bright stripes on the animal's back seem to represent the sun-spots moving on its body as it charges in the forest; sometimes the artist allows his fancy to run free, producing freaks such as the blue and orange tiger.

The mosaic allows us also to draw some inferences as to the procedure adopted in laying the pavement. The original plan was undoubtedly made for a rectangular room with pairs of sides equal in length. As can be seen from the plan (p. 12) and Pls. XIV/XV, the north side was actually made

¹ Père Lemaire in *RB.*, 1934, p. 390, Pl. XXV, 1.

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20 cm. longer than the south side. The artist probably completed the central panel first, making it truly rectangular. Then he proceeded to fill the border, beginning from the north-west corner. While proceeding to the east he noticed the divergence of the wall from a perpendicular line and began to fill out a white margin. Having once turned the north-east corner he proceeded southwards; there he remarked that the available space was becoming gradually narrower. To overcome this difficulty he abandoned the outer wave-crest, turning it into a narrow red band. The head in the south-eastern corner was made much smaller than the two others. From the south-eastern corner the artist kept the border gradually widening out but still somewhat narrower than the others. Hence the scroll was here made smaller (the contrast in size between the first pairs of leaves to the north and to the west of the south-eastern corner is striking), and apart from the beginning we do not see in the south side any of the crosslets or sprigs with which the other sides are liberally sprinkled.

The el Ḥammām pavement should be discussed in relation to three groups of mosaics: (1) the 'genus' of pavements showing a vine-trellis and beginning with the Antonine period; (2) the 'species', being the mosaics showing the particular form of such pavements given to them by the Justinian revival, and (3) the 'family' of four pavements in Syria, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan with which our mosaic presents the closest affinities.

The origin of the representations of a vine-trellis on mosaic pavements has been recently discussed by Mr. P. L. Hinks,¹ who suggested that this kind of decoration was possibly meant as a reflection on the floor of a pergola overhead. The type was fully developed in Africa in the second and third centuries A.D.² From the beginning it was combined with vintage scenes with Cupids as vintagers grouped in between the twisting tendrils. The best examples of this type are the mosaics from el-Djem³ and especially those from Oudna.⁴ Roman pavements in Africa differ in two points from the related series of Byzantine mosaics. Firstly, the trellis grows out of kraters in the four corners of the room and not from a central point in the middle of the border nearest to the door. It should be noted that in this respect the late Qabr Hirām⁵ and Mukhaiyya⁶ mosaics follow the earlier tradition. Secondly, the trellis is naturalistic, creeping over the pavement in irregular lines, instead of forming regular circular medallions. The fourth-century wall mosaic at

¹ *British Museum Catalogue, Mosaics*, p. liii f.

² Cf. the African birds in our pavement—*Alectoris barbata* and *Numida meleagris*.

³ *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique, Tunisie*, fasc. II, No. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fasc. I, No. 376.

⁵ Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Pl. XLIX.

⁶ Père Lemaire in *RB.*, 1934, Pl. XXIV.

Santa Constanza in Rome¹ marks the transition as befits its date (c. A.D. 330); its tendrils show a certain tendency to form circular medallions. The fully developed Byzantine type consists of an amphora in the centre of a border, with birds, usually peacocks, flanking it and circular medallions with a tendency to a symmetrical development of the branches. This type appears first in the first half of the fifth century A.D., e.g. in the ceiling of Sta. Matrona in Capua² and the Aquileia mosaics.³

Under the powerful stimulus of the 'Justinian renaissance' mosaics of a highly similar type, probably radiating from a single centre, the Imperial Court at Constantinople, were laid down in the sixth century in Africa (Cherchel),⁴ Tripolis (Sabratha, c. A.D. 550),⁵ Italy (St. Vitale, Ravenna,⁶ and Ancona),⁷ as well as in Syria and Palestine. In the Sabratha mosaic the ductus of the trellis still shows distinct traces of naturalistic influence, although all the branches proceed from a single point. All the other examples mentioned show the strictly formal circular scroll characteristic of Byzantine pavements.

In Palestine this type of pavement occurs eight times,⁸ always in the middle of the sixth century in the dated examples.⁹

The nearest relations of our pavements are, however, the following three mosaics: (1) the central panel of Qabr Hirām,¹⁰ dated A.D. 575; (2) the Beisān pavement found in the Monastery of Lady Mary,¹¹ dated A.D. 568–9; (3) the Mukhaiyyaṭ pavement dated by Père Lemaire¹² to A.D. 617 or 628. The first and third of these pavements differ from the two Beisān pavements in the arrangement of the trellis, but all four show not merely a general resemblance in their subject-matter, i.e. a mixture of scenes of the chase and of vintage, but have quite definite connexions in the choice of subjects (as can be seen from the following table), connexions which can only be explained by the assumption of a common prototype.

¹ M. Van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IV^{me} au X^{me} siècle*, p. 2, Fig. 3; Peirce-Tyler, *L'Art byzantin*, Vol. I, Pl. XXIII.

² Van Berchem-Clouzot, *op. cit.*, p. 85, Fig. 97.

³ Peirce-Tyler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Pl. 118.

⁴ *Inventaire, Algérie*, No. 435.

⁵ Peirce-Tyler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pls. 115 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 114.

⁷ Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionn. arch. chrét.*, Vol. I, col. 1995, s.v. 'Ancone'.

⁸ Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, p. 80, n. 10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 306 (Shellal), A.D. 561–2; No. 20 (Beisān), A.D. 568–9.

¹⁰ Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 607–25, Pl. XLIX.

¹¹ FitzGerald in *QSt.*, 1931, Pl. II after p. 70; Peirce-Tyler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 195.

¹² Père Lemaire, in *RB.*, 1934, p. 401.

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<i>Trellis issuing from acanthus:</i>	Beisān 1, ¹	Mukhaiyyat		
<i>Wine press:</i>	„	„	Qabr Hirām, Beisān 2	
<i>Donkey led to press:</i>	„	„	„	„
<i>Man sitting on reversed</i>	„	„	„	„
<i>basket and playing:</i>	(Man playing)			
<i>Hare eating grapes:</i>	Beisān 1	„	„	„
<i>Hunting-dog with collar:</i>	„	„	„	„

With regard to the details of the representation the following parallels can be noted: Cupids carrying baskets with grapes occur at Oudna and el-Djem; there also we find Cupids cutting grapes and holding vintager's knives identical in shape with those represented here (Pl. XVII, 4). Such knives are also carved on Christian tombs in Asia Minor, dated to A.D. 353-70.² Groups of men, usually three, pressing grapes are found on the Santa Constanza ceiling³ and in various paintings, including several from the catacombs;⁴ frequently the workers are accompanied by pipers who mark the beat. Hares feeding on grapes occur on a mosaic from Halicarnassus in the British Museum; there are also dogs with collars.⁵

The form of the border scroll in our pavement falls in between that of the scroll in the nave of St. George's at Jerash (A.D. 529-30) and the scroll in the nave of the Synagogue Church (A.D. 530-1). The acanthus is shown in profile, the mid-rib is hidden, and all the leafage turned inwards; but although the leaves develop out of a kind of cup, as in the later example, they start from two points of the spiral, as in the earlier.⁶ The arrangement itself, with bearded heads in the corners alternating with beardless heads, and with fruits in the medallions and crosslets in the interstices and spandrels, bears the closest resemblance to the celebrated Orpheus mosaic found at Jerusalem (now at Constantinople), one of the best of its kind ever found in Palestine.⁷ The scheme of bearded and beardless heads occurs already in African mosaics,⁸ where little wings on both sides of the head show them to have been meant for the four winds. The same interpretation has been given to the heads in the corners of the Orpheus pavement. A head with a flowing beard and

¹ Beisān 1—our pavement; Beisān 2—pavement in the Monastery of Lady Mary.

² W. M. Ramsay in *JHS*, 1904, p. 283. Cf. also the representation of September as a vintager on the pavement in the Monastery of Lady Mary.

³ See p. 20 and n. 1.

⁴ Reinach, *Répertoire des peintures*, p. 223, 10; p. 124, 2; p. 400, 4; p. 406, 1; Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionn.*, Vol. I, col. 1643.

⁵ *B.M. Catalogue*, No. 57 f., p. 146. For ref. to hunts see *ibid.*, p. 147.

⁶ Cf. the diagrams in Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash*, p. 45.

⁷ *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, No. 133.

⁸ *Inventaire, Tunisie*, fasc. II, No. 560 (Dougga).

moustaches is the standard representation of the Ocean or of marine deities in Roman art.¹

2. *The Narthex.* In the narthex we see a single panel. The pavement has a narrow white margin, followed by one row of black and one row of white tesserae. Then comes the main border, 28 cm. broad, representing a twisting ribbon with a plastic shading in red and blue, on a black background strewn with multicoloured fruits, pomegranates and apples, and heart-shaped leaves, half dark green and half light green. Here, as in the main hall, the artist probably prepared a symmetrical plan, but came to realize that the narthex exceeded the main hall on the south side by the width of a wall—80 cm. (see plan, p. 12). In order to complete the pavement it became necessary to add a strip showing a plastic ribbon waved regularly and shaded red and blue on a black background. Heart-shaped leaves, yellow or green and yellow, fill the interstices.

The border is followed by one row of white and two rows of black tesserae. This inner frame surrounds the main panel in which *the twelve months* are represented on a white background, each month accompanied by a Greek inscription giving its Latin name and the number of its days.

The months are arranged in two groups of six, with each group in two rows, thus:

January, February, [March,]	July, August, September,
April, May, [June,]	[October,] November, December.

The remaining fragments prove that the panel could not have been continuous, because July, the first month of the second group, stands too much to the right of the central line of the panel. It follows that there was a middle space between the two groups of the panel. This space was filled either by an inscription or by the figures of the Sun and the Moon which are commonly associated with representations of the months.

The central part of the panel is lost. This, as well as the break in the main hall close to the entrance door, is clearly due to the greater wear to which these parts were exposed by persons entering or leaving the chapel. The whole pavement of the narthex suffered also from the collapse of the walls, one stone of which (perhaps the lintel), found on the floor, measured 100 × 41 × 20 cm.

The figure of *January* is almost entirely destroyed. All that is visible shows that the figure wore a long dress of blue with purple stripes, and red and yellow sandals. The inscription reads ΙΑΝΟΥΑ ΠΙC/ΗΜ^Ε[ΛΑ]. The plant separating January from the next month shows a green stalk and black leaves with green borders.

¹ *Inventaire, Tunisie*, fasc. I, No. 448; *Algérie*, No. 318.

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Of *February* there remains only a bare leg with a tiny piece of garment above it, showing that this figure had been represented as marching to the right.

Above the leg there is a kind of black twig. Inscription: $\Phi[\epsilon\text{BPOYAP}^{\epsilon}\text{IOC}]/[\text{HM}^{\epsilon}\text{KH}]$.

March is entirely lost.

Of *April* there remains a head much discoloured by burning. The figure carried a lamb on its shoulders (yellow, with a brown outline). Inscription:

$\text{AΠP}^{\epsilon}\text{I}^{\epsilon}\text{Λ}^{\epsilon}\text{IOC}/\text{HM}^{\epsilon}\text{Λ}$

Only a shoulder piece is left of *May*, showing a brightly coloured garment, mainly red. Inscription: $\text{MAH}^{\epsilon}[\text{OC}]/\text{HM}^{\epsilon}[\text{AA}]$

June is lost.

July (Pl. XVI, 2) is preceded by a conventional plant outlined in black, with red leaves. The month is represented as a youth clad in a light blue tunic without sleeves, and girt in the middle. The youth is holding a big green leaf filled with yellow and red fruits, with a brown outline. Inscription: $\text{IOY}^{\epsilon}\text{ΛHOC}/\text{HM}^{\epsilon}\text{AA}$

Between July and August we see a plant with green stalks and black leaves followed by another with black stalks and red leaves. The same colour scheme is followed in the other intervals.

August is represented by a youth standing to front, with black hair. The figure is dressed in a green tunic of the same type as that of July, with red stripes on the shoulders (*clavi*) and little squares below (*tabulae*). In the right hand is a yellow square fan with a red and black Union Jack pattern: in the left hand is a red jug with two handles. Inscription: $\text{AΓOY}^{\epsilon}\text{C}^{\epsilon}\text{TOC}$

$\text{HM}^{\epsilon}\text{AA}$

September is also a youth with purple hair in which black dots probably indicate a waving. The figure has a red tunic with black *clavi* and *tabulae*. The right arm is bent over the head and the right hand holds on the left shoulder a dark grey double-handled jar with black stripes. The left hand holds a cock head downwards, with red wattles and comb, yellow body, dark grey and black wings. Inscription: $\text{CETEM}^{\epsilon}\text{BPH}$

$\text{HM}^{\epsilon}\text{AA}^{\epsilon}\text{OC}$

October is lost.

November has a bright blue tunic with black *clavi*. The right hand holds what seems to be meant for a bundle of lime-rods (or a torch?); the left holds a yellow basket or trap (or brazier?), and a flowing green material which might represent a net. Inscription: $[\text{NOE}]^{\epsilon}\text{M}^{\epsilon}\text{BPIOC}/\text{HM}^{\epsilon}\text{AA}$

December alone among the extant months has the form of a woman, dressed in a long robe with girdle and ample sleeves; over it comes a flowing

mantle drawn over the head. Both dress and mantle are green with purple shadings. On the feet are green slippers (this, with January, are the only shod figures in the pavement). The right hand is concealed in the folds of the dress, the left holds a mattock with a yellow-brown handle and grey blade.

Inscription: ΔΕΚΕΜ ΒΡΗ

ε
ΗΜ ΑΑ ΟC

All figures have pink flesh with darker shadings, and are outlined in dark red. The eyes and eyebrows are black, the mouth red, with two transverse black lines, thus —|—.

Representations of months are not too common in classical antiquity, but they become increasingly frequent in the Byzantine Empire and medieval Italy. The various types have been studied by Professor J. Strzygowski in connexion with the Calendar of A.D. 354.¹ More recently Mme S. Korsunskaja has summed up our recent knowledge and has added a new mosaic representation of June, at present at the Hermitage.² In 1930 two further mosaics with months were discovered, one at Argos,³ the other at the Monastery of Lady Mary, Beisān, which has been mentioned above.⁴

Professor Strzygowski has distinguished three traditional types by which the months were represented, which he calls respectively the Roman, the Byzantine, and the Italian. The third need not concern us here. The Roman type illustrates certain tetrastychs which might ultimately go back to the Augustan era. The Byzantine type is based on the Roman but differs in eliminating all traces of pagan influence. A fourth type, different from all the others, has been preserved in the Qabr Hirām pavement; there the various months are represented—with Macedonian appellations—by heads with hardly any distinctive characteristics. All other types use full figures.

The two Beisān pavements agree in varying to a certain extent the standard types. From a detailed comparison it will be seen that the monastery pavement anticipates the later Byzantine tradition in a greater measure than does the el Hammām pavement. Both seem to represent an independent (Syrian) variant of the transition from the Roman to the Byzantine style. It should be noted that the fashion of writing the name and number of days of each month appears already in the Calendar of A.D. 354 and may go back still

¹ J. Strzygowski, *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354*, Berlin, 1888.

² *Röm. Mitt.*, 1933, pp. 277 ff.

³ *Arch. Anz.*, 1931, col. 261; *BCH*, 1930, p. 481. C. W. Vollgraff in *Mededeelingen der K. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, Deel 72, Serie B, No. 3., pp. 14 ff., Pl. VI.

⁴ FitzGerald in *QSt.*, 1931, p. 62 f.; Peirce-Tyler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 196.

farther.¹ The use of the Latin names of the months prevailed in Byzantine mosaics in Northern Palestine.²

From the scanty fragments of *January* we can note a certain resemblance to the representation A.D. 354, viz. a man dressed in a jewelled tunic and toga, with sandalled feet. This is interpreted as a Roman noble (a consul?) sacrificing on New Year's Day. Our figure had also a long dress and sandals. In the Argos mosaic January is a consul holding a *mappa*. In the other Beisān mosaic also January has shoes and a long dress; the rest of the figure is, unfortunately, destroyed.

It should be noted that in the monastery pavement *February* is also barefooted, while *March* is shown as a warrior, thus conforming to the later Byzantine type which differs in this respect from the Roman.³

April is everywhere represented as a shepherd carrying an animal, here a lamb, in the monastery a goat, or accompanied by one. This tradition seems to go back very far, even to classical Greece, as is shown by the representations of Elaphebolion on an Attic relief.⁴

July in our pavement seems to reflect the Roman tradition which connects this month with baskets or bowls of fruit (mulberries). There exists, however, a much greater similarity with some representations of June, especially the Hermitage fragment, where a plate of fruit is shown, strongly reminiscent of the leaf in our case. In the other Beisān mosaic July is represented in the later Byzantine tradition with a sickle and a sheaf of corn; while it is May who offers fruit.

August shows again the Roman tradition translated into terms of a Palestinian summer in the Byzantine era. All extant representations of this month are variations on the theme of 'heat', and combine the cooling fan and the drinking vessel. The fan on Roman pictures is an elegant object with peacock's feathers—here a serviceable square wicker flap (*flabellum*, ῥίπις) such as is still used in this country to ward off flies.⁵ In the Calendar of A.D. 354 the vessel is a glass bowl, accompanied by a double-handled wine-jug marked '6 years old' (Ϛ). Here it is replaced by a plain red jug. In the monastery pavement August is lost.

September in the Roman tradition is a man carrying in one hand a lizard and in the other a basket. The Byzantine tradition, as represented by the

¹ Thus: 'Mensis November—dies XXX'.

² *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, p. 89 and n. 8. In Southern Palestine and the Negeb the names of months in inscriptions remain Macedonian down to the end of the Byzantine period and later.

³ *Calenderbilder*, p. 64.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁵ Flaps of this shape in wicker-work were found at Akhmīn and are represented on Christian glasses and diptychs. Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionn.*, s.v. 'Flabellum', Vol. V, col. 1610.

monastery pavement, has a vintager. Our pavement takes an independent line. The black striped jug is clearly meant for one of the common Byzantine ribbed jars, found in quantities in the ruins of every late settlement.

November in our pavement seems to have taken over the attributes of October in the Roman tradition, lime-rods for bird-snaring, traps for hares, and nets.

December. In the present case the artist has apparently been influenced by the traditional representations of the winter season by a veiled lady.¹

The monastery pavement follows as usual the Byzantine tradition in which a sower stands for this month (Pl. XVII, 8).² The Roman tradition differs; the Calendar of A.D. 354 has a youth playing dice (a reference to the Saturnalia). It is interesting, however, to note the *tabulae* of his tunic.³

The border of this panel is found again at Ras Siagha,⁴ dated A.D. 597, and the Elianeum at Madaba,⁵ dated A.D. 596. The shaded plastic ribbon occurs three times in Palestinian mosaics;⁶ it is believed to have occurred first on an Antonine pavement at Timgad.⁷

Technique. The average number of tesserae in 10 cm. sq. is 108; the faces of human figures have as much as 120 tesserae. The range of colours used by the mosaic artist is very wide: white,⁸ light and dark yellow, light and dark orange, light and dark pink, brick red, flesh red, wine red, purple, dark brown, light, medium and dark grey, greyish blue (marble), light and dark blue (glass), blue-black, grass green, light and dark green (glass), olive green, black; eleven colours in twenty-four tones. In the main panel the colours are bright and contrasting, the artist evidently trying to bring out by colouring the details of the small figures, while aiming at a vivid colouristic effect of the whole; on the other hand he shows his taste by keeping the border in subdued colours, black, white, pale red, brown, greyish blue, olive green, and by refraining from the use of glass cubes he avoided distracting our attention from the main panel. In the narthex, on the contrary, where the figures are bigger and there is no danger of their

¹ Cf. the Beit Jibrin pavement, *Mos. Pav. in Palest.*, No. 23 and Pl. II. 'Winter' carries a mattock on an African pavement, *Inventaire, Algérie*, No. 350; Reinach, *Répertoire des peintures*, p. 228, No. 5.

² Published by the kind permission of Mr. G. M. FitzGerald.

³ *Calenderbilder*, p. 80, Pl. XXXII.

⁴ R. P. Sallers in *RB.*, 1934, p. 125, Fig. 2 and p. 124.

⁵ Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionn.*, s.v. 'Madaba', Vol. X, cols. 869-70 and 874.

⁶ *Mos. Pav. in Palestine* (type B I), Nos. 24, 334, 335, 346.

⁷ *B.M. Catal.*, p. lix.

⁸ By the kindness of Mr. G. S. Blake, Geological Adviser to the Government of Palestine, some samples of tesserae were defined as follows: (1) *white*—marble, might be local, but is unusually white; (2) *light green*—frit coloured green with iron; (3) *black*—bituminous limestone (Yarmuk or Wadi 'Arab); (4) *dark green*—green glass with iron; (5) *olive green*—glass coloured with iron; (6) *dark blue*—glass coloured with copper.

being smothered by an over-rich border, the frame is made very effective by the use of bright red and blue, green and yellow, on a deep black background.

In executing the work the general rule of all good pavements is observed, i.e. the figures are first outlined in white tesserae, then laid down; the background is filled in at the end. This applies also to the trellis and the branches of grapes, but not to the vine leaves. Technically the work can be described as *opus vermiculatum*, but in Byzantine times the Roman technical terms had lost their meaning. The tesserae used are mostly square, but we find also triangular half-tesserae and for specially fine lines, such as are used in the faces or outlines of arms or legs, very small oblong pieces. The way in which the tesserae of varying size have been fitted together so as to form a smooth and even surface is especially remarkable. The minute stones of various shapes are wedged together in such a way as to make the complete pavement exceedingly strong. This is also due in no small degree to the excellent plaster in which the tesserae are set. The foundations also show the same careful execution as the rest of the pavement. In the south-eastern corner they were found to consist of 23 cm. rubble and earth, followed by 7 cm. of cement made from a mixture of lime and plaster of Paris with the tesserae deeply embedded in it.

B. *The Lower Pavement*

As stated above (p. 12 f.), a second pavement of rougher workmanship was observed in the section of the robbers' hole. Its general level was 20–28 cm. below the upper pavement in the main hall, but only 2–3 cm. in the centre of the narthex. In the south side of the narthex a third level was discovered, 13 cm. below the upper pavement. Part of the lower pavement can be seen in the break just in front of the threshold in Pls. XIV/XV.

A clearance of the stratum sealed between the two pavements produced rubble debris, a fragmentary clay lamp of the form common in the fourth century A.D., a bronze coin of Constantius II (A.D. 337–61) or Constans I (A.D. 337–50),¹ and some exceedingly brittle human bones. The latter were found near the long break, but in a crosswise disposition which did not warrant the assumption that the break was made for a burial. Two leg bones, including a thigh bone, 37 cm. long, could be recovered.

Once cleared, the lower pavement in the main hall revealed itself as a nearly complete surface decorated with geometric patterns (Pl. XIII, 2). A surround 28 cm. wide is followed by a simple guilloche of the common type in red (or orange) and white, bordered in black. The main panel is framed by

¹ *Obv.* Bust of emperor with diadem. DN CONSTAN rest obliterated. *Rev.* Figures obliterated. [FEL. TEMP. RE]PARATIO. The facial type of the emperor resembles rather that of Constans I.

a single black line and consists of a pattern of red and black squares, joined by crossing diagonals also in black and red.¹ Inside each square four sprigs² form a fleuron. Inside the lozenges formed by the squares and the crossing diagonals are smaller lozenges in black and red with a white centre (Pl. XVII, 9).

In the narthex there were two lower pavements, as mentioned above. The upper has a surround of 17 cm. followed by a frame of black lines and a red crowstep turned outwards. The field consists of black and red squares³ with diamonds inside each square (Pl. XVII, 11). In the south side of the narthex the pavement at a lower level was found protruding 40 cm. beneath the south wall of the narthex, which was itself 80 cm. out from the south wall of the main hall. The pattern of this lowest pavement consists of a white surround sprinkled with small chequered diamonds, followed by a black crowstep turned inwards and framing a diagonally chequered field in white and black with thin red borders. The fields of the chequer have sprigs (*F*₃) arranged crosswise, either black sprigs on the white fields of the chequer or white on the black fields (Pl. XVII, 10). The pattern is unique in Palestine.

Dating

The existence of two superimposed pavements furnishes us with one of the rare occasions in which one pattern can be definitely established as earlier than another. In our case this is the more interesting because of the great contrast between the strictly geometric and sober ornamentation of the earlier pavement and the luxuriant decoration of the later. This sequence agrees with the general experience in churches in Greece, but could not so far be verified in this country. On the contrary, the general tendency of datings based on internal evidence has been to place the plain geometric style rather later in date than the ornate type of decoration.

Our evidence for a dating of the lower pavement is based on three considerations: (i) its similarity with the pavements of the 'Roman' bath at Gezer,⁴ and the fourth-century church at Gethsemane;⁵ (ii) the fact that bronze coins dated to the middle of the fourth century A.D. circulated after its completion; (iii) it is definitely anterior to the sixth-century pavement over it. By taking these facts together we can assign to the lower pavement a date early in the fourth century, during the reign of Constantine.

As the second pavement is certainly Christian and as it was erected on the same foundations as the first, we may conclude that both are Christian,

¹ Type *H*₅ in the index of patterns, *Mos. Pav. Palest.*, p. 6; occurs 12 times.

² *Ibid.*, *F*₃. Common.

³ *Ibid.*, *H*₁. Very common.

⁴ Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. I, pp. 228 ff.; Vol. III, Pl. L.

⁵ Orfali, *Gethsémani*, p. 12, Pl. VI.

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS AT EL ḤAMMĀM, BEISĀN

although there is no direct indication of the fact. The geometric character of the first pavement with its avoidance of definite indications of religion may reflect the non-committal pavements of crypto-Christian buildings. In the upper pavement only the somewhat vague symbolism of the two peacocks flanking the acanthus and of the vine recalls the religion of the artist and founders, although the type of decoration is a well known Christian one and fitting for a funerary chapel.

The upper pavement belongs to the middle of the sixth century, to judge from the evidence of its nearest relations, dated respectively A.D. 567 and A.D. 585.¹ The crucial date for our pavement is that of the pavements in the Monastery of Lady Mary on Tell el Mastaba, Beisān. In view of their close resemblance we cannot reasonably assume that the artist of the later pavement—whichever it may be—was unaware of the existence of the earlier. At the same time all our evidence tends to prove that the monastery pavement dated A.D. 567 was the later, the work of a local artist who tried to imitate the foreign master employed by a wealthy family of Scythopolis to decorate the funerary chamber constructed over the family vault. Our reasons for this assumption are: (i) The coarse character of the monastery pavement, where much bigger tesserae are used, nearly all of them square even in the finer parts. The limbs and dress of the human figures, the baskets and animals, are exceedingly clumsy (cf. e.g. the dog dancing to its master's pipe). It must be admitted, however, that the monastery artist, perhaps the monk Elias, was more original in his design and especially excelled in the vivid expression given to his figures. The eyes in particular compare very favourably with the fixed stare of the creations of our master, who apparently did not attempt to modify the tradition as he had been taught it. (ii) The representations of months in the monastery pavement follow much more closely the later Byzantine tradition, as stereotyped from the ninth century onwards. Our pavement represents a stage where tradition was much more fluid. (iii) A technical detail may furnish us with a clue as to the relation of the two artists. It has been noted (p. 16) that the bunches of grapes in the main hall are represented

¹ The date of the Qabr Hirām mosaic has been much disputed. As regards the dating of the inscription, A.D. 575 seems to be the correct date, since the use of the Tyrian era in preference to the Seleucid is confirmed by various inscriptions in the vicinity (*QDAP*, Vol. III, p. 101 and p. 105). The same dating certainly applies to the vine trellis panel. One should hesitate, however, to assign the pavement with the months in the aisles to that date, as they fit into no known type representing months which could be used in the sixth century, as is evidenced *inter alia* by our pavement. If one takes the phrase Γέγονε τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς ψηφώσεως in the inscription as referring to the central panel only, one avoids the main argument against such an assignment (Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 620 f.) and is free to regard the aisles as remains of an earlier pavement. No decision can be taken without examination of the pavement.

in the eastern and western parts in two different manners. Our conclusion was that the master artist entrusted two of his assistants with the completion of the details of the pavement. Now the grapes in the monastery pavement resemble closely those in the eastern part of our pavement (see especially the bunch with white crosses behind the man to the left of the vase (Pl. XVII, 7¹) and the grapes in Pl. XVII, 5, 6). The natural conclusion is that one of the local assistants of our master, whose work must have been much admired in the vicinity, was later on entrusted with the execution of the monastery pavement. This man might be the monk Elias referred to above. (iv) The form of the scroll seems to point to a date between A.D. 529–30 and 530–1 (see above p. 21).

These considerations lead therefore to the conclusion that our pavement is earlier than the monastery pavement and should be dated round about A.D. 530.

We should also try to explain why a second pavement was laid at a higher level over a mosaic in a fair state of preservation (Pl. XIII, 2), while the walls of the original building were left standing, to judge from the foundations. (The lowest pavement of the narthex is an exception which confirms the rule.) We can only assume that the earlier building was damaged by an earthquake or in the course of one of the frequent Samaritan risings or Arab raids. A second reason might be the change of taste in the period of Justinian; the family, which by then had been using the vault for more than a century, might wish for a pavement more in accordance with what then must have been the height of fashion.

As regards the destruction of the second building, the evidence seems to point to a conflagration, this is shown by the discoloration (caused by burning) in the narthex pavement (Pls. XIV/XV). As there is no trace whatever either of iconoclastic mutilations or of subsequent repairs, the fire which destroyed the building may have been connected with the military operations in the Beisān region which preceded the Arab conquest, operations involving much fighting.² Subsequently an earthquake, such as accounted for the destruction of the Beit Alfa synagogue, probably threw down the walls, covering the pavement with stones and the debris of the walls and the roof under which it has remained protected for fourteen centuries.

M. AVI-YONAH.

¹ Published by kind permission of Mr. G. M. FitzGerald.

² 'The day of Beisān', *Encycl. of Islam*, s.v. 'Baisān'; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Vol. III, A.H. 13, § 207.



1



2

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS AT EL ḤAMMĀM, BEISĀN



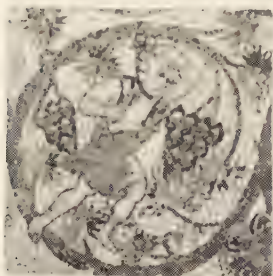
MOSAIC PAVEMENTS AT







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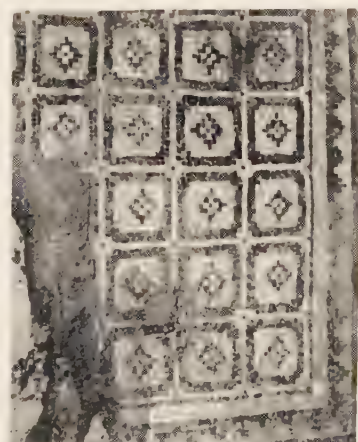
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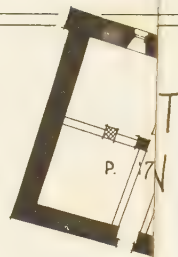
11

MOSAIC PAVEMENTS AT EL ḤAMMĀM, BEISĀN

Nos. 7 and 8 from the Monastery of Lady Mary are reproduced by kind permission of Mr. G. M. FitzGerald

ATLIT.

WALLS FOUNDED ON FOOTINGS, 
 " " " FLOORING, 
 " " " ROUGHLY BUILT, PROBABLY
 ADDITIONS, 
 TETHERING POINTS SHOW THUS 

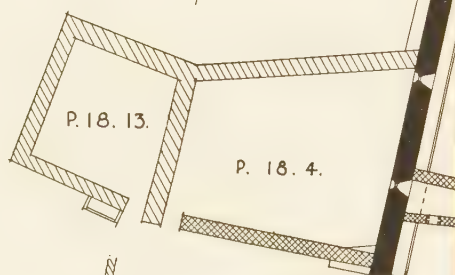


WELL 

17
O — P
18

P. 18. 6.

17
R —
18



P. 18. 2.

P. 18

WELL 

P. 18. 1.

P. 18. 3

P. 19. 1.

18
O — P

18
R —
19

F O S S



SCALE OF METRES.

EXCAVATIONS AT PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLĪT' (1932-3);
STABLES AT THE SOUTH-WEST OF THE SUBURB

FOLLOWING the excavation of the fort at the south-east corner of the suburb of the thirteenth-century Crusader castle,¹ and of the small unfinished church near it,² an extensive clearance of the whole site has been begun, working northwards. So far, the area south of the church has been examined, that is, roughly the southern third of the total area which it is possible to excavate.³ At this end of the suburb there was only one other building besides the fort and the church.⁴ A large compound, in plan not unlike an oriental khan, it occupied most of the ground available between the fort at the south-east and the beach at the south-west corner (Pl. XVIII); and contained permanent stabling for over two hundred animals, presumably the mounts and transport of the Templar garrison. Despite subsequent quarrying, sufficient masonry remains to complete the plan and restore the elevation; and in many rooms contemporary equipment has been found undisturbed. No other building of the period is extant at all resembling this, so far as the writer is aware; nor has it been possible hitherto, on this site or any other, to identify such a variety of objects which must have been in daily use during the Crusader occupation of the thirteenth century.

I. State of the ruin on excavation

Like the western out-buildings of the fort, the stables were built up against the town wall, which itself formed the south side of the compound (Fig. 1, opposite and Fig. 21, p. 59). Separated from the fort by a roadway entering the gate in this wall, the compound filled the whole section west of it to within 40 or 50 metres of the sea. Opposite the beach at the south-west a northward return of the town wall was obvious from the first, both in an air photograph⁵ and on the ground, and then seemed to be one end of a fore-shore wall protecting the west side of the town. On excavation, it proved that the long walls forming the opposite sides of the westernmost range of the compound (P-17. 2 to P-18. 3) were higher than any of the others, standing over a metre above floor level (Fig. 3, opposite p. 35 and Pl. XIX, 1). Elsewhere the walls had mostly disappeared, pillaged down to the bottom course or even to the footings. Those which had escaped, such as the westernmost pair

¹ *QDAP*, Vol. I, pp. 111-29.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 122 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, see map opposite p. 145.

⁴ In addition to officers of the Department, Mr. J. C. B. Richmond gave valuable assistance in supervising the excavations here during 1932.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pl. XL.

of long walls, had partly collapsed through exposure to the weather and were buried under heaps of fallen stone and mud-mortar. The south range formed a notable exception; the south side of it, like the near side of the fosse, was encumbered with tumbled blocks from the town wall weighing a ton or more, which must obviously have been overthrown by main force, but which had been left to lie where they fell (Pl. XXI, 2). All over the building a certain accumulation of drift sand had to be removed, naturally deeper in the rooms where the walls still stood, such as the south range and two western ranges. Here the lowest sections of piers still in position were first to appear, together with the lips of troughs or the tops of benches; next came the remaining sections of the piers resting on a hard layer of rock spoil more or less level with the door sills, sometimes separated from it by an appreciable deposit of blown sand, sometimes directly on top of it, such as was invariably the case with the lowest blocks beside the town wall. In the westernmost range at least, this hard level had evidently been used as a floor, since a perfunctory blocking or step composed of column sections or other dressings had been inserted in the western doorways to raise the sill level (e.g. Pl. XXIII, 2). Quite clearly, however, this was not the original floor level, but merely a layer of rock debris from 20 to 30 cm. deep lying on top of the original floor, which was itself paved with undressed flags or cobbles opposite the troughs where the animals stood and wherever traffic was considerable as at the doorways (Pl. XX, 1). In the smaller rooms which contained no stabling the floor was commonly of the same rock spoil, always distinguishable because the floor itself was composed of clean yellow sandstone, while the layer above was usually reddened by fire and mixed with bits of charcoal as well as fragments of white plaster applied to sea-shells. The difference may be seen in Pl. XXIII, 1, showing one of the rooms in the outer western range (P-18. 8): it has been cleared to the original floor except for the debris on which the fallen pillar members rest, and in section there may be distinguished a dark upper layer of burnt debris, which itself covers an even layer of clean rock spoil representing an upper or secondary floor ('A' in Fig. 3, facing p. 35). In some rooms, especially those around the stable-yard (P-18. 9 and eastward) the burnt layer contained much larger pieces of charcoal, often whole sections of charred beams, transfixed with large iron nails (Pl. XXII, 1). Where the beams had decayed fine charcoal dust marked the floor. In these rooms too, quite large slabs of broken plaster were found on top of the charcoal; on the face of one was scratched the 'board' for playing a game familiar to small boys in these parts as 'Fences' (Arabic *sīja*),¹ which is essentially the same as the game known in Europe as

¹ Cf. E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Everyman Library), p. 356.



(Royal Air Force Official: Crown Copyright Reserved)

THE SOUTH END OF THE SUBURB FROM THE AIR, LOOKING NORTH TOWARDS
THE CASTLE; IN THE FOREGROUND, THE SOUTH-EAST FORT (right) AND THE
STABLES (left)



1. The south end of the outer west range (P—18.5) looking towards the ruined town wall; after removing blown sand, all fallen masonry, except the pillar sections, and roof debris



2. Part of the south range (P—19.3) looking towards the south-east fort with Mount Carmel in the distance; pillar sections still rest on roof debris; the top remaining course of the wall behind the troughs has been reset



1. High trough against the west wall of the inner west range (P—18. 9); only the left-hand of the partitions separating the mangers is *in situ*. Sockets which held halter-rings may be seen in the course below the coping (p. 41); slots for ventilation in the wall above the trough (p. 36, Cf. Fig. 6, p. 40)



2. Divided trough in the south range against the town wall (Q—19. 4)



3. Quoin stone found beside the north-east corner of the building and restored to place; probably worn away by the hubs of carts negotiating the narrow passage at this corner (p. 39)



1. A complete pillar (P—18. 3), the fallen members resting on roof debris with an intervening layer of blown sand (p. 32)



2. Tumbled masonry from the town wall (Q—19. 1) resting immediately on the roof debris (pp. 32, 34)



3. Stone from the town wall (P—19. 1) showing slot for roofing joist and lines of mortar making section of concrete crust on roof (p. 34)

'ATLIT; STABLES AT THE S.W. OF THE SUBURB

'Merels' or 'Nine Men's Morris' during the later Middle Ages (Pl. XXV, 1). It was underneath this very definite layer of rock spoil mixed with charcoal, plaster, and shells that almost all the objects and most of the coins occurred.

As the workmen quickly recognized, the burnt layer over the floors was simply a mixture of the various materials which go to make up a flat roof

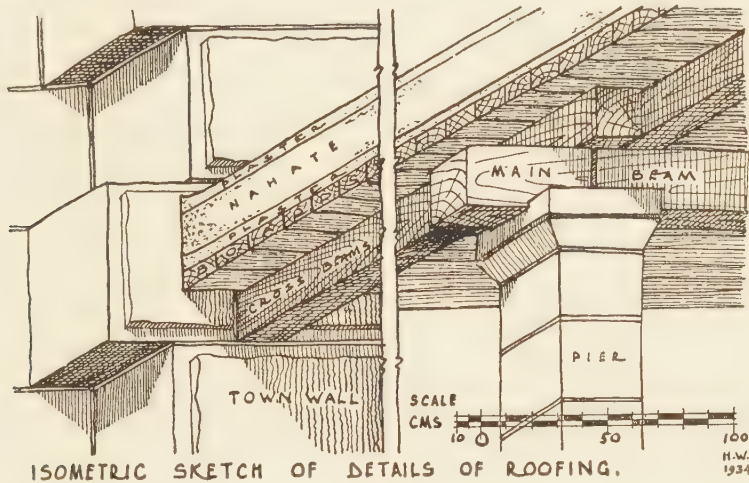


FIG. 2.

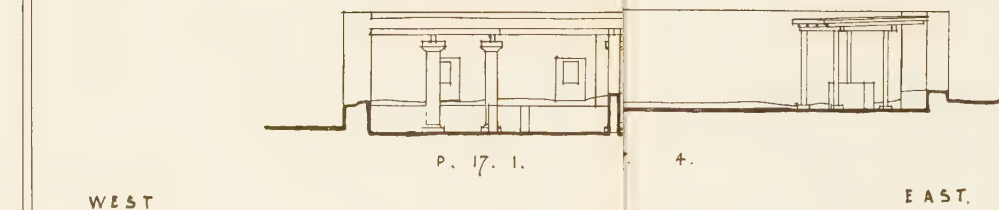
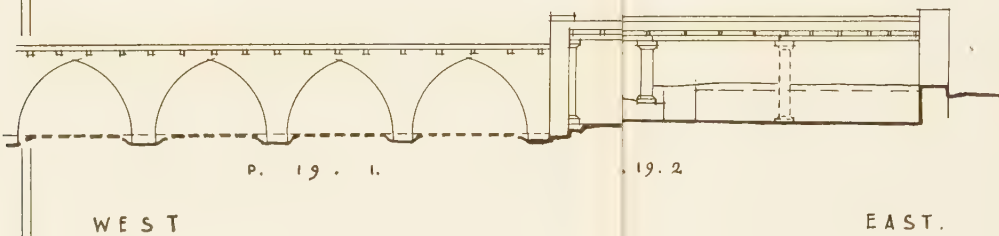
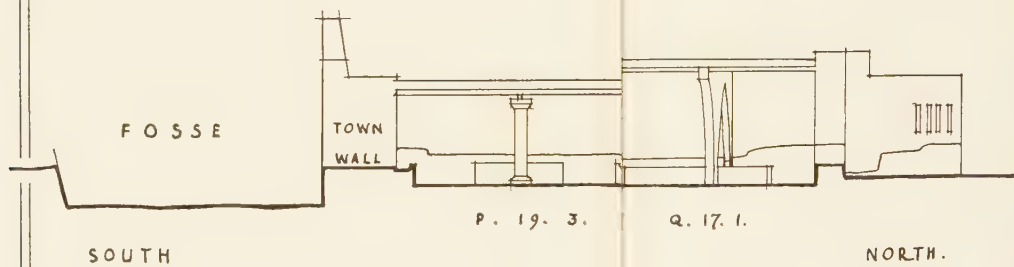
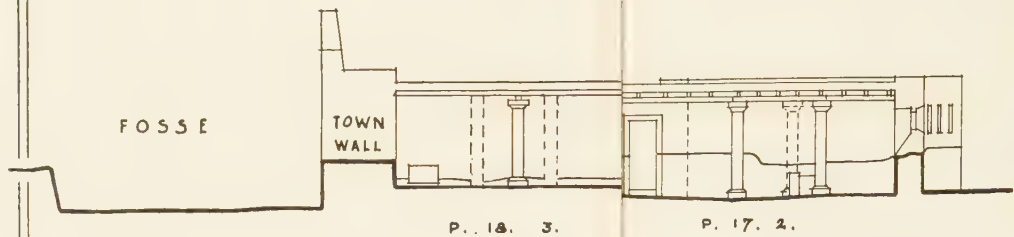
constructed in the local tradition, that is, a concrete crust of quarry spoil (Arabic *naḥāte*) and lime, rendered smooth with lime plaster, and carried on timber joists and boards or brushwood (Fig. 2). It is a form of roof construction common to villages in the better wooded parts of the country which is only now being superseded by the general adoption of cement concrete and steel girders. As the timber for trussing pitched roofs has to be imported into Palestine, flat roofs of this sort have always been preferred as a cheap alternative to stone vaulting, and are less unsatisfactory here than they would be in a country of more frequent rain or snow. In the old days the span of such a roof was necessarily limited by the type of timber available; in the stables it never exceeded 4 metres (or 13 ft.) without intermediate support. Where the rooms were wider, the total span was halved, by means either of a central arcade, or of a central row of pillars spaced not more than 4 metres apart (Fig. 3, opposite p. 35). The horizontal dimensions of the long two-aisled ranges thus correspond closely with those of the similarly constructed stables at 'Megiddo', at least two thousand years older;¹ in either case, the limiting

¹ P. L. O. Guy, 'New Light from Armageddon', *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 9, 1931 (plan).

factor was the timber available on the upper slopes of Mount Carmel, where straight pine trunks do not run to much more than 4 or 5 metres. Among the specimens of charcoal collected from some of the rooms, cedar has been recognized in addition to pine.¹ As cedar does not naturally occur in Palestine, some of the timbers must therefore have been brought either from the Lebanon or from Mount Olympus in Cyprus, more probably from Cyprus in view of the close connexions suggested by the coins and pottery found on the site. The size of the timbers may be gauged from the wrought iron nails, many of them between 20 and 25 cm. in length, which were sometimes found intact in the charcoal embers, or from the slots cut in the big blocks of the town wall to take the cross members of the roof over the south range (Fig. 2 and Pl. XXI, 2, 3). On some of these blocks the actual section of the concrete crust was marked by ridges of mortar (Pl. XXI, 3): the gap above the wall slot for the cross member corresponded to the boards or scantlings which carried the crust (cf. Pl. XXII); a lower ridge of mortar represented the lime used to seal the cracks, since the crust was packed dry judging from present-day practice; and an upper ridge about 30 cm. higher marked the final rendering. Many pieces of plaster were made up of successive layers of rendering; for such roofs require fresh rendering every few years; hence the concrete was not so thick originally as this section makes it appear. But from the first its dead weight must have been considerable and must have required frequent cross members to support the planking; how frequent they were the large slotted stones of the south range do not show exactly, because some may be missing or buried under other heavy stones, but there were at least twice as many beams as pillars. The intermediate members appear to have been carried on even stouter beams, bridging from pillar to pillar; there was a groove as much as 30 cm. or nearly 12 in. wide countersunk in the top of one of the capitals (cf. Fig. 2). For this purpose it is likely that the imported cedar trunks were employed. At the time of the fire which brought down the roofs, these heavier beams must have been largely burnt away; while the planking, the first to collapse, has been preserved by the loose rock which fell on top of it, stifling the embers and so reducing them to charcoal. In some of the smaller rooms the charred beams were found lying as they fell, many of them in the same direction (Pl. XXII, 1); sometimes several lay side by side, no doubt connected by part of a cross member, such as was certainly the case in one room (Q-18. 8) where they were preserved in a wide depression in the paving, the nails still fixed in the charred boards and underlying joists (Pl. XXII, 2;

¹ Information supplied by courtesy of the Imperial Forestry Institute, University of Oxford, and the Department of Agriculture and Forests, Government of Palestine.

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Fig. 12, p. 47). In the larger rooms all the timbers were more thoroughly consumed, most of all in the outer western range which lay open to the sea-breeze.

II. *Restoration in plan and elevation*

A flat roof of this type did not call for such massive walls as vaulting did; their abutment was less than half that of walls in the bath-house, for instance, which carried a vault of a span as great as the total width of the main ranges in the stables.¹ An apparent exception are the walls east of the north gateway (Q-17. 2), which were thickened in making the adjoining cistern (Q-17. 3). On the whole the masonry of the main walls (filled black on the plan, Fig. 1, opposite p. 31) compared favourably with that of the various vaulted buildings which have been uncovered elsewhere on the site. It was of the usual local sandstone, and might be described as squared rubble in courses from 25 to 45 cm. backed with small unsquared rubble, with ashlar dressings at the doors and windows and perhaps at the quoins, also of sandstone (Pls. XIX, XX, XXIII). The ashlar alone was bedded in lime mortar, which incidentally revealed the position of missing stones; the rest in mud made of local field soil, a ferruginous earth (Arabic *samaqa*). The walls around the main yard (Q-18. 12) were of more regular and bigger masonry, it seems, than those at the west of the building; the latter were left by the plunderers, the former taken. Of the enclosure wall at the north the bottom course alone remained (Pl. XXII, 1), of the parallel wall little more than the footings; hence some of the doorways (marked (?) on Fig. 1, opposite p. 31) had to be inferred from the rest of the plan. Likewise at the west, the inner wall of the range facing the yard (P-18. 9) was represented only by its footings for the most part; some ashlar survived at the south door, but the northern one had to be deduced from the laying of the paving inside and the traces of an approach outside. At the south the inner wall of the range along the town wall was better preserved, still at least three courses high; the eastern of the two main doorways (Q-19. 1) could be traced exactly by the mortar, while the smaller doorway to the east (Q-19. 2) had to be guessed from an obvious gap. Of the eastern enclosure wall again, only the bottom course remained throughout the middle portion (Q-18. 6 and 7); whether a gateway once existed here or not, it was impossible to tell. The parallel walls of the outer range, which backed against the range forming the west side of the yard, had not been quarried to any such extent; the only question is whether the south room (P-18. 3) once had an entrance at the west through what was really a party wall. The outer wall and the north wall in particular were standing to

¹ *Quarterly*, Vol. I, Fig. 22, opposite p. 127.

window level (Pl. XIX, 1). Only in one or two cases were the window jambs still in place, but the approximate position of the rest was usually marked by traces of white mortar. In the sections of the other two ranges (Fig. 3, facing p. 35) similar windows have been restored at the same interval. The back-to-back ranges at the west were ventilated also by a row of small loop-holes in the common wall at the level of the animals' heads, which would admit a breath of the sea-breeze to the inner range (Pls. XX, 1; XXIII, 1). As for the rooms in the north range, it seems likely that they all had windows facing north (as P-17. 2), and perhaps others facing south as well. As usual the outer windows had iron grills, which are indicated by sockets in the jamb stones.

The lesser walls, that is the party walls and walls enclosing annexes, have been distinguished from the main walls on the plan (Fig. 1), and broadly classified according to construction, because they are themselves some index of the vicissitudes through which the building passed. It must be admitted that the exact course of the party walls (cross-hatched on plan) was often conjectural. Generally speaking, the cross walls which must formerly have reached the roof, since they were solidly built of squared or random rubble, were still standing between one and two metres high; while the thinner partitions, which were really rows of handy squared stones and therefore hardly more than breast high, had been robbed. In some cases they may have been altered or removed before the fire, but in the majority they have been wholly or partly quarried subsequently. Nevertheless, wherever they were bedded on mortar they could be traced. The outer western range is a case in point. The northernmost room (P-17. 2), being originally one with the neighbouring salient room (P-17. 1), was cut off from the rest by a tall wall of fairly square rubble, of which only three courses remain. The southernmost room (P-18. 3) was detached from the stabling by a narrow wall of small squared stone, which cannot have been very high but must have had a small door; only a few stones of that partition were actually *in situ*. The rest of the range, originally a single long room of stabling, was later divided into two by a cross wall of random rubble like those dividing up the south range, plastered like the main walls; this wall (cross-hatched on plan) still stood as high as the main walls. Still later, after the floor had been raised as described on p. 32 (Fig. 3, facing p. 35), the northern half (P-18. 7 and 8) was subdivided by a much clumsier wall of rubble built on this secondary floor level; of this wall also (plain hatched on plan) a good deal has survived, besides the very rough benches that were built on the sole remaining course of the troughs in one of the new rooms so formed (P-18. 8, Pl. XXIII, 1). The other new room (P-18. 7) was then entered through a break in the outer wall, made at the

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only available window. Such makeshift alterations inside the rooms apparently took place during the main occupation, before the roofs were destroyed by fire. Finally, in the open, both inside and outside the yard, there are some dry-stone enclosure walls clumsily built of large unworked stones (also plain hatched on plan), which could not be related to the debris of the fire, but proved to be resting on a certain accumulation of blown sand and rubbish. If added during the main phase of the building, they must therefore have been quite late. Other additions (so distinguished on plan) were obviously subsequent to the destruction of the building, e.g. the latest heightening of the western doorways for which sections of the pillars were used (Pl. XXIII, 2), or the secondary rooms built on the ruins of the pent-house in front of the well at the south-west (P-19. 1); such additions may definitely be put down to squatters who occupied the ruins before they had silted up. But with the exception of additions such as these, and the possible exception of the dry-stone enclosure walls previously referred to, the plan may be regarded as belonging exclusively to the period preceding the destruction of the building by fire.

In Fig. 3, facing p. 35, an attempt has been made to restore the elevation of the original building in its main lines. The total height of the main walls could be closely calculated in all the larger rooms which were roofed either on a central row of pillars or on a central arcade; rather more exactly in the former, because in each some of the pillars were found complete; the bottom section perhaps still stood on its base, and the others, including the capital, lay in line on top of the roof debris as if thrown down by an earthquake (Pl. XXI, 1, &c.). The pillars were of standard pattern, generally with a bevelled base and cap, though plain blocks sometimes served; the intervening sections normally measured just under 50 cm. square, i.e. between 18 and 19 in., which is roughly half a yard or a quarter the medieval French *toise* (1 m. 94). Being of sandstone, they were carefully bedded on concentrated lime mortar, reinforced with flakes of hard limestone. The whole pillar stood on a wide flagstone or footing, buried in the sand. On one of these, the one belonging to the middle pillar at the west side of room P-18. 3 (marked 'X' on plan), from which the base had been previously removed, the builder's guiding lines were still visible, marked in black, either with ink or charcoal (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXIV,

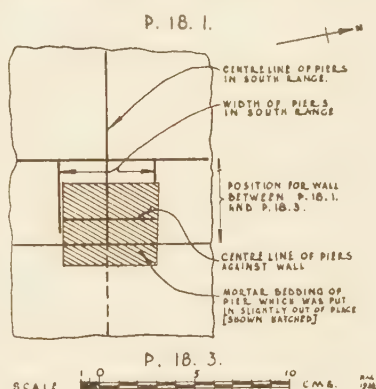


FIG. 4.

2). The footings were not levelled with the same care as they were aligned; consequently the over-all length of the pillars varied slightly from one to another. No doubt they were built to conform to one particular pillar, the height of which was decided as the work proceeded. In the south range in particular, there was evidently some uncertainty or misunderstanding about it; the eventual height of the pillars was such that the cross beams could rest on the upper bed of one of the courses of the town wall in slots cut in the

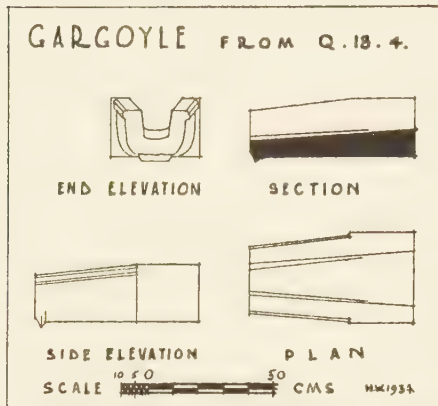


FIG. 5.

course above, as already explained on p. 34, but in more than one instance slots were cut at the top instead of the bottom of the latter course and afterwards refilled. Incidentally, it may be noted that the town wall must have been at least one course higher than the slotted course against which the roof concrete lay (Fig. 2, p. 33); yet whether this or a higher course carried the parapet walk there is no direct evidence to show. The stable roof had no necessary connexion with it; in each of the three main ranges the ceiling was about 3m. 50 or 11 ft. 6 in. high, which is

not far short of the height recommended for stabling nowadays. To these main ranges the roofs of the adjoining rooms must have corresponded generally. There may have been an exception, however, in the case of the divided room in the north range which was roofed on arcades (P-17. 3 and Q-17. 1). To judge from the remaining springers (Pl. XXII, 1) the arches approximated to the *tiers-point*, the arch which was used for the out-buildings of the south-east fort.¹ If so, the eastern half (Q-17. 1) must have been higher than the western (P-17. 3), so corresponding with the adjoining gateway (P-17. 2) and cistern (Q-17. 3), for which it would in fact have afforded ample catchment. With this exception no attempt was made to collect the rain water; it simply drained off through gargoyles (Fig. 5).

III. Planning of the building

For most purposes the garrison were content to rely on shallow wells excavated in the sand,² and though brackish the water they supply is quite whole-

¹ *Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 115 and Fig. 4.

² James of Vitry relates with some astonishment how the Crusaders found good water in the sand while digging foundations for the Castle. *Historia Orientalis*, lib. III, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1131.

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some. In the stables there was one such well at the middle of the stable-yard (Q-18. 12) which has been in use ever since, and also two smaller ones outside the outer western range (P-18. 1 and P-18. 6), one of which has recently come into use once more. These wells supplied what were really independent and self-contained parts of the building; the one an enclosed yard (Q-18. 12) with stables and rooms along each side, the other two an outside range of stabling looking on to the beach at the west. Although these two parts backed against each other there was no direct communication between them; the outside range was accessible only from the beach at the west, the yard through a single entrance at the north (Q-17. 2) and nowhere else it seems. Unlike the entrances to the outside range (Pl. XXIII, 2), which were exactly like those opening off the yard into exactly similar ranges of stables, the northern gateway was a main entrance intended for heavy traffic; the roadway was paved with stone slabs laid diagonally and approached by a metalled slope. As nothing of the kind was found anywhere along the eastern enclosure wall, where some trace of a roadway might have survived even although most of the wall above ground had gone, it does seem as if the yard had no other entrance but this. Doubtless it was the main entrance; its archway had a moulding (Fig. 10, p. 46), and its porch was suitably furnished with side benches (Fig. 3, opposite p. 35). It faced the main road, which, after following the east and north sides of the building, apparently turned and ran across the beach towards the castle (Pl. XVIII);¹ and it led into the stable-yard, around which was situated the bulk of the accommodation for both men and animals. Inside there were ranges of stabling on two sides, the south and west, with stores, workshops, and living-rooms on the north side and elsewhere around the yard; outside there was only one range of stabling, with a store and perhaps a living-room at the north and another at the south. Adjoining the last, there was a range built up against the town wall, not quite like any other; now destroyed except for certain springers and footings, formerly it seems to have been roofed on two arcades, the outer one being open to the beach. In the absence of any trace of stabling, it is possible that this penthouse was simply a cart-shed; whether carts ever entered the north gateway to the yard is very doubtful, because they could not negotiate the wider passage at the north-east corner of the enclosure without bumping one of the quoin stones (Pl. XX, 3); hence it seems likely that the outer range was especially designed for the draught animals and transport. For the rest, the yard closely resembles the standard stable plan shown, for example, in the eighth- or ninth-century *esquisse* for the monastery of St. Gall: that is, a quadrangle with living-rooms

¹ Cf. map in *Quarterly*, Vol. III, facing p. 145.

and stores in one range on either side of the entrance, and stables in the other three.¹

IV. *The Stabling*

To judge from the various types of stabling various kinds of animals were kept. All three ranges were uniform in plan and construction it is true, but they were partitioned into separate rooms which differed from one another in

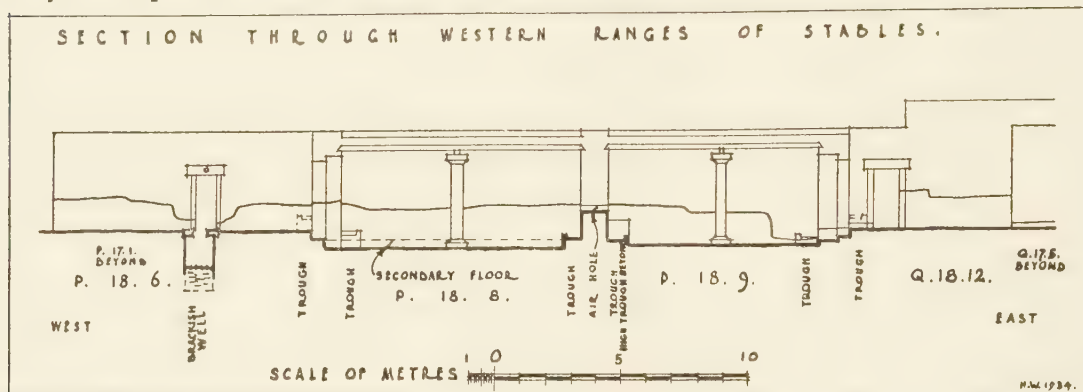


FIG. 6.

their internal arrangement. Originally they all had long troughs running along opposite sides, but the troughs varied from one room to another in height and form. The extremes may be seen in the inner western range (P-18. 9): in the north part there was a trough a metre or over 3 ft. high, in the south part there were portions of troughs barely half a metre or 18 in. high (Fig. 6, seen in elevation and section respectively). With these exceptions, the troughs averaged about 80 cm. or 2 ft. 8 in. in height. In the south range (Fig. 7 opposite) the one on the north side is intact (Pl. XIX, 2), and apparently the one on the south also, so far as it can be detected under the tumbled blocks of the town wall (Pl. XX, 2). In the outer west range (Fig. 6), the troughs are preserved in part at the south end only (P-18. 5, Pl. XIX, 1), though originally they extended unbroken through the greater part of the range; further north (P-18. 7 and 8) the lip has gone, and the bottom course alone remains, partly buried under a secondary floor as described above on p. 36, but the full section corresponding to the intact troughs farther south is preserved under the later party walls of rubble (at either end of P-18. 7). With the raising of the floor level in the northern half, which was at first a single room, later sub-divided (into P-18. 7 and 8), the height of the troughs must have been reduced by half, so that they then stood no higher than the exceptionally low troughs in the parallel range

¹ Lenoir, *Architecture Monastique* (Paris, 1852), Tome I, opposite p. 24.

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(P-18. 9, south). It was evidently later on, after the room was subdivided, that the coping of these troughs was torn up and benches built on the sole remaining course in one of the new rooms so formed (P-18. 8, Pl. XXIII, 1). The troughs never extended into the northernmost room of this range (P-17. 2); the irregular line of separate mangers there corresponds to a secondary floor level, like the doorway opposite.

In some of the rooms the originally continuous troughs were broken up into separate mangers by the insertion of stone partitions. The mangers so formed varied in width from room to room; in one of the two rooms at the east end of the south range (Q-19. 3 and 4, Fig. 7) they were nearly a metre and a half wide (Pl. XX, 2), in the other some of them were as little as 75 cm.; while, in the room occupying most of the northern part of

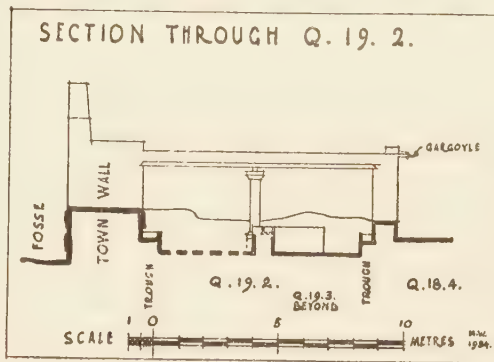


FIG. 7.

the inner west range (P-18. 9, Fig. 6) they must have been at least two metres wide (Pl. XX, 1). In this last room only one of the partitions was found definitely *in situ*, but the original position of the others could be inferred from a series of holes in front of the trough just below the coping, which must have been sockets for iron rings or eyes to take halter ropes (cf. Pl. XX, 1). Though most of them were empty, yet in some the stump of the peg was still embedded in its lead 'running in'; all of them are indicated by arrows in the plan (Fig. 1, facing p. 31), including some which appear to be additional to the original arrangement. Similar sockets were noticed in the south range (Q-19. 4) in front of the two or three troughs against the town wall which it was possible to clear (cf. Pl. XX, 2). A specimen of the sort of tethering ring which these sockets evidently contained has been picked up on the floor of another room (P-18. 9, south) and is illustrated in Fig. 15, 5, p. 50; it is exactly like one which was found actually in position in the stable at the south-east fort.¹ In another part of the south range (Q-19. 3) the same end was served by working a hole in the thickness of the stone facing of the trough, so that the hole doubled back upon itself and so that the rope could be passed in and out again as if round a countersunk handle. With these few but significant exceptions the troughs seem to have been mostly undivided or continuous; in such portions as have survived with the plaster rendering intact the trough runs level for many metres, if not for the whole length. But like

¹ *Quarterly*, Vol. I, fig. 8, p. 117 and Pl. XLV, 1.

the divided troughs, they usually had points for tethering, either iron pegs in front of the trough, probably like those already noted, or else holes pierced through the lip of the coping itself. In the south part of the outer west range (P-18. 5) there are sockets for iron pegs, either in the coping or in the course below, on the average just over a metre apart (similarly marked in the plan, Fig. 1). In the west part of the south range (P-19. 3 and Q-19. 1), there are holes cut through the lip of the coping, which to begin with were fairly regularly spaced at intervals of from 80 cm. to a metre, but afterwards became very irregular because the halter ropes tended to wear them away and new holes had to be cut beside those that had worn through, sometimes very close to those which were still in use. Summing up, there seem to have been two distinct classes of stabling: on the one hand, there were the smaller rooms with troughs up to a metre (3 ft. 4 in.) high divided into separate mangers, some 75 cm. (2 ft. 6 in.) wide, some almost a metre and a half (5 ft.), some over 2 metres (7 ft.) wide; on the other hand, there were the larger rooms with continuous troughs 85 cm. (2 ft. 10 in.) high or less, and tethering points at intervals which were originally intended to be not less than 80 cm. (2 ft. 8 in.) and were generally nearer a metre or a little over (3 ft. 3 to 6 in.). The same distinction between continuous and divided troughs appears in one of the out-houses, that intended for plough horses and oxen, in the St. Gall plan already mentioned.

There can be little question that the divided troughs were intended primarily for horses, the continuous troughs primarily for cattle. Oddly enough the St. Gall plan shows to the contrary, but all experience accuses the scribe of inadvertently transposing the titles. At the same time it may be doubted whether the distinction was rigidly observed in practice. By the insertion of temporary partitions separating the fodder, the continuous troughs could easily have been adapted for horses; so adapted, the long troughs in the outer west range (P-18. 5), for instance, would have been at least as suitable for small horses, like the local nag shown in the photograph (Pl. XIX, 1), as were the small mangers in the south range (Q-19. 2). Only one room was clearly intended for larger horses, that at the north end of the inner west range (P-18. 9), where the mangers were over 2 metres or nearly 7 ft. wide; there the animals had room to lie down, and may even have had separate wooden stalls, all trace of which has disappeared owing to the fire and subsequent collapse of the walls. Elsewhere, large horses could have been stabled only if tied to alternate pegs and separated by hanging bails or else shackled. That fairly large horses were kept in each of the three ranges of stabling is shown by their shoes. Specimens have been found on the floors of three rooms, one

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in each range, as well as in a heap of scrap iron discovered in one of the living-rooms in the north range (see below p. 48). A pair of the better preserved shoes, fore and hind, is illustrated in Fig. 8 (from P-18. 9, south, and Q-19. 3 respectively, cf. Pl. XXVI, 1). In comparison with the European shape familiar to-day they are definitely broader in the web, even after allowing for corrosion, and they are also unduly long at the tips, perhaps because they were

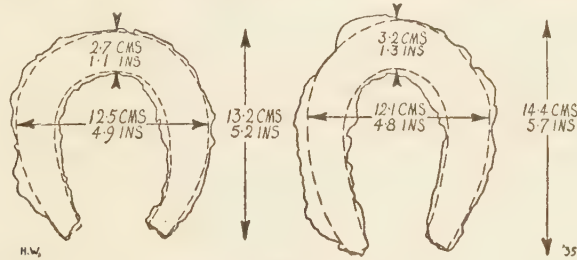


FIG. 8.

meant to bend down to give grip; yet the resemblance is striking enough. In contrast with the traditional native shape, a thin plate which completely protects the foot except for a small hole or slot at the back, their workmanship is unquestionably European. To judge from their size, however, they must have been intended for horses of native rather than of European origin; after allowing for corrosion they are scarcely larger than the shoes worn by a good country-bred pony of to-day, as represented for example by the mounts of the Palestine Police, which stand 14 hands 2 inches or thereabouts but are naturally somewhat heavier than Arab ponies of thoroughbred desert stock.¹ It seems likely that the horses in question were likewise saddle-horses, the *chevaucheheures* or mounts of the Templar Rule, not the *somiers* or pack-horses; though presumably of the classes therein distinguished as *turqueman* or *palefroi*, certainly not the *cheval* proper, the war-horse of typical European stock.² There seems to have been good permanent accommodation for eighteen such mounts in the room with wide mangers in the inner west range (P-18. 9), where, to judge from the paving, there was evidently a trough along the east side as well as the west; while, of the rooms with smaller mangers, those

¹ Information kindly given by the Chief Veterinary Officer, Department of Agriculture, Government of Palestine, and the Veterinary Inspector, Palestine Police. Sir Frederick Hobday, Principal of the Royal Veterinary College, London, to whom facsimile drawings of the shoes were sent, has written to say that in his opinion 'the shoes appear to be either those of the Arab or something cross-bred with an Arab. They are certainly not the old Crusader war-horse type. . . . In this opinion I am supported by Captain Dolman, the authority on this subject at the Natural Science Museum, South Kensington'.

² Ed. H. de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886), chaps. 77, 99, 101, 110. Cf. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1897), Tome II, p. 37, &c.

at the east end of the south range (Q-19. 2 and 4) may have had accommodation for another twenty smaller animals, and that at the south of the inner west range (P-18. 9) for another ten such animals. Elsewhere, in the long rooms with continuous troughs of a height suitable for horses rather than cattle, i.e. in the rest of the south range (P-19. 3, Q-19. 1) and the greater part of the outer range (P-18. 5, &c.) a maximum of 180 more horses could have been stabled, if every peg was occupied. However, it must have been for cattle that these rooms were chiefly designed, along with the south part of the inner west range (P-18. 9) which had an exceptionally low trough especially suitable for them. Bullocks were certainly employed in the construction of the castle; 'two bullocks could scarcely draw the stones', wrote James of Vitry;¹ and they were probably used in preference to horses for ploughing and other farm work, as well as for transport farther afield. Some of them may have been stabled in the outer range along with their carts, which were apparently too wide to pass through the narrow northern gateway into the stable-yard. Altogether it would not be surprising if the maximum of 250, which the three larger rooms could accommodate if all tethering points were occupied, were actually kept when building and other operations were in full swing. No doubt the number and distribution of animals varied from time to time, as the various party walls, primary or secondary, tend to show. But if the final arrangement of the rooms is any guide to the builder's intentions, it would seem that the building was intended for a very large proportion of stock along with a small number of horses used for riding or transport, now more, now less.

Both in the yard and outside there were additional troughs standing in the open. A well-preserved trough stood against the south part of the outer range (P-18. 2) with a cobbled horse-standing in front of it. It is possible that similar troughs originally extended the whole length of this outside wall (P-18. 4 and 6), and have since been uprooted (Fig. 6, p. 40). Such a trough certainly stood against the wall of the west range inside the yard; only a small portion remains, but the rest can be traced by the cobbled horse-standing. In an emergency both of these lines could have been used as feeding-troughs for horses or cattle. There were also shorter troughs near the wells, evidently used for watering; the substructure of one exists beside the well at the south end of the outer range (P-18. 1); there are remains of two others south of the well inside the yard (Q-18. 3). Of the latter, the double free-standing trough has lost its coping; the one opposite, however, had an unusually deep coping, sloping steeply and therefore very suitable for holding water. Both were obviously open to the yard at first, and must have been heavily used. The

¹ *Loc. cit.*

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neighbouring well, which has continued in use to this day, is one of the biggest on the site; it formerly had a special channel for draining off spilt water and a wooden tripod, of which one socket yet remains, for hoisting buckets. For the rest stone water butts, like those found in the south-east fort,¹ were placed inside and outside the rooms throughout the building. (Cf. Pl. XXIV, 1).

As with the water supply, silage and storage was provided in both parts of the building. Inside the yard the principal corn store was in the corner between the two ranges of stabling (P-18. 11). It was a room divided into four pans, the party walls of which were missing but easily traced by furrows in the plaster; they were one stone thick and probably stood waist-high, being rendered with good lime plaster like the floors. Among the roof debris carbonized beans and grains of vetch (*Arabic kirsenne*) occurred. A curious detail (Fig. 9) was found *in situ* near the bottom of the north wall. For the outer range, similar storage was provided in the salient room at the north-west corner (P-17. 1). There the floor was of beaten marl, not plaster, but it still showed the bedding of party walls dividing it into four. In one of the pans, again underneath roof debris, lay a heap of carbonized chaff mixed with grains of barley as well as beans.² Inside the yard there were two smaller rooms on the north side (Q-17. 5 and P-18. 10) which also had plastered floors and may therefore have been used as silos or stores for forage. Though the walls of both had been completely robbed above the bottom course, the roof debris was undisturbed, and underneath it the floors were blackened with fine charcoal, more powdery than any associated with the roof debris elsewhere except in the two rooms where grain was found. Presumably this was the residue of hay or chaff, if not of grain more completely consumed than it was elsewhere. It is perhaps significant that in one of the rooms part of a locking device was found (Fig. 10, p. 46).

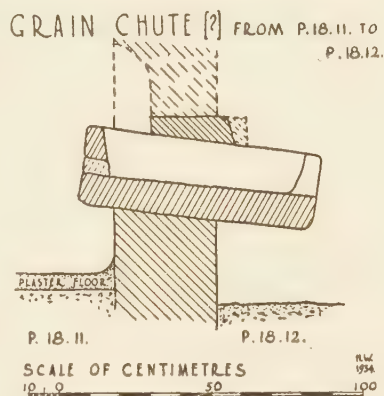


FIG. 9.

V. *Living accommodation*

The remaining rooms, those composing the north range and those partitioned off from the ranges of stabling or built alongside them, were evidently used by

¹ *Quarterly*, Vol. I, Fig. 11, p. 119.

² Identified by the kindness of the Chief Agricultural Officer, Department of Agriculture, who observes that the specimens are practically identical with typical native seed of to-day.

the grooms. Judging from the broken pottery and odds and ends of metal equipment found in them they must all have been inhabited at some time or other; and some of them must have been in use immediately before the fire, since, in addition to discarded fragments, they also contained a number of pots

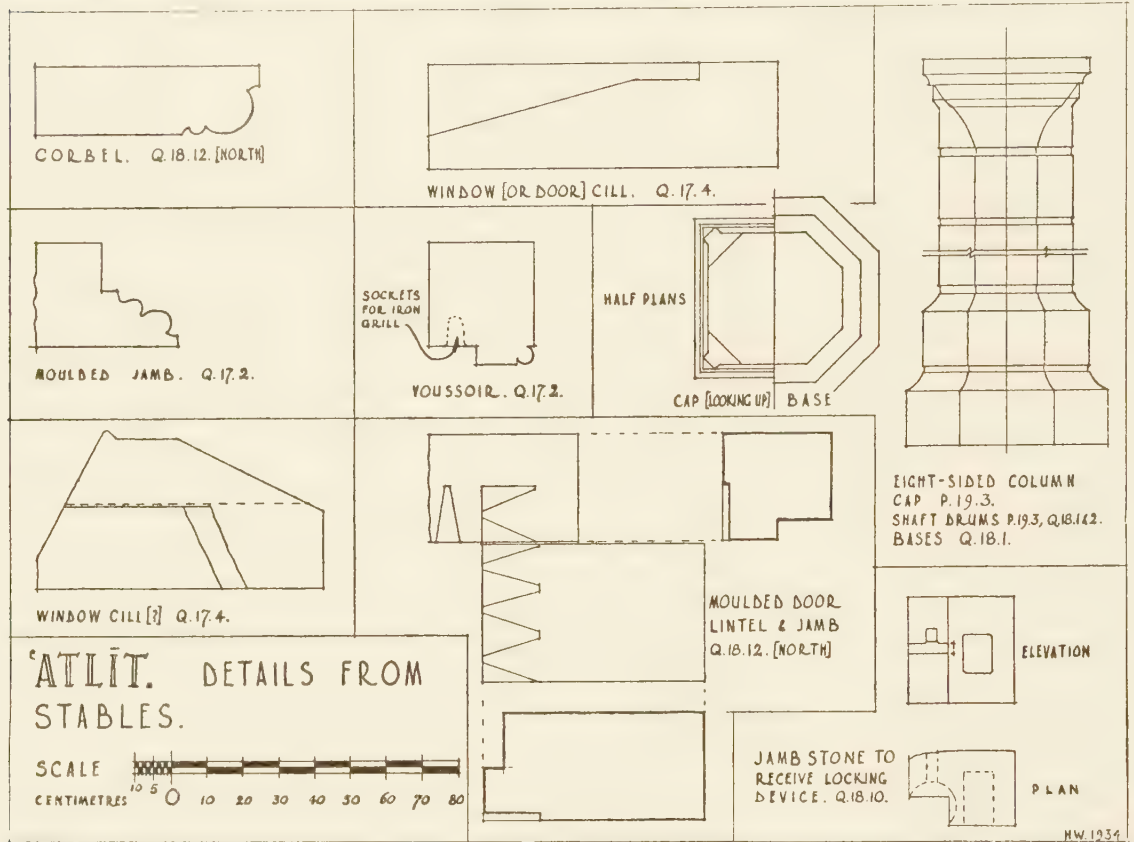


FIG. 10.

which must have been practically complete when the roof collapsed on them and shattered them. Fig. 13, p. 48, shows some of the more complete examples of slip-ware bowls or plates commonly found in these rooms; Fig. 14, p. 49, a selection of the jars, pitchers, jugs, and saucepans, many of which were also common types. Most of the latter, being unglazed and porous pottery, must have been waterpots; while the others, which were glazed, must have been for kitchen or table use. The position of the complete pots which were obviously *in situ*, and of the fragments which were large enough to admit of restoration, has been marked on the accompanying plans.¹

¹ Each object is followed by a number which refers either to the drawing which represents it or to the drawing of another object which resembles it, a drawing which will be found in the appo-

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One or two of the rooms opening off the yard may have been used as harness rooms; the one against the south wall (Q-18. 1), for instance, had a trough along the south wall (Fig. 11), unlike any other trough in the building in having places for three octagonal pillars. The drums were found scattered but evidently belonged to each other; those that remain make up pillars at least

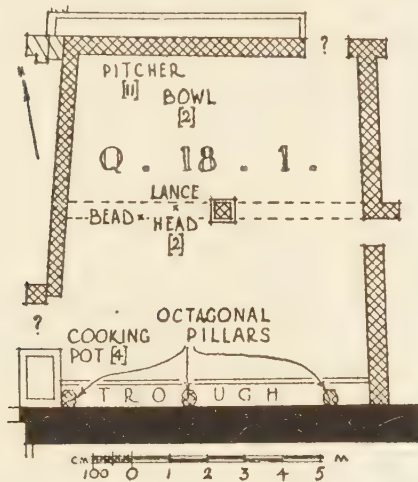


FIG. 11.

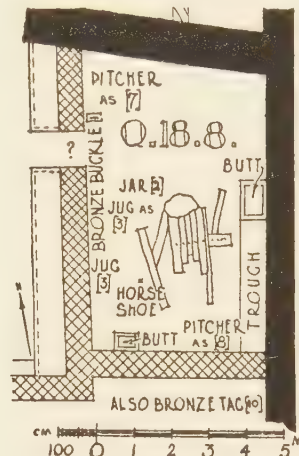


FIG. 12.

a metre tall (Fig. 10, p. 46). A marble capital of Byzantine origin found in the sand filling here may have served as the capital of one of the pillars (Pl. XXIV, 1). One drum has slanting slots on opposite sides as if intended to support a beam either way, suggesting that the pillars supported a saddle rack over the trough. Pottery was found on the floor of the room (Fig. 11); viz. a chipped bowl of yellow glazed slip-ware (Fig. 13, 2, p. 48), part of a glazed cooking-pot (Fig. 14, 4, p. 49) and a water pitcher of coarse dark-red ware (Fig. 14, 11; p. 49); and also an iron lance-head (Fig. 15, 2; p. 50) and a lump of lead. At the north-east corner of the yard there was another room provided with a trough and butt, which may also have been used for washing purposes; at the time of the fire it must have been a scullery judging from the number of pots found on the floor (Fig. 12). They included a sort of cream jar (Fig. 14, 2), glazed light orange inside and out; a jug (Fig. 14, 3) of common red ware with a *graffiato* blazon on the shoulder, and pitchers of the same ware like Fig. 14, 7 and 8. There was also a bronze

plate or figure, thus: in the first plan, Fig. 11, bowl (2) is Fig. 13 (2), pitcher (11) is Fig. 14 (11), and so on. The approximate position of the metal objects has also been shown and the drawings of those of iron have been referred to similarly: thus in Fig. 11 again, lance-head (2) is Fig. 15 (2), p. 50; while the drawings of objects distinguished in the other plans as 'bronze' will be found in Fig. 16, p. 50.

buckle and tag (Fig. 16, 1 and 10, p. 50) and a small iron shoe like Fig. 16, 13.

The two large rooms in the north range on the west of the door (P-17. 3 and Q-17. 1, Fig. 17) were certainly used as living-rooms apart from storage

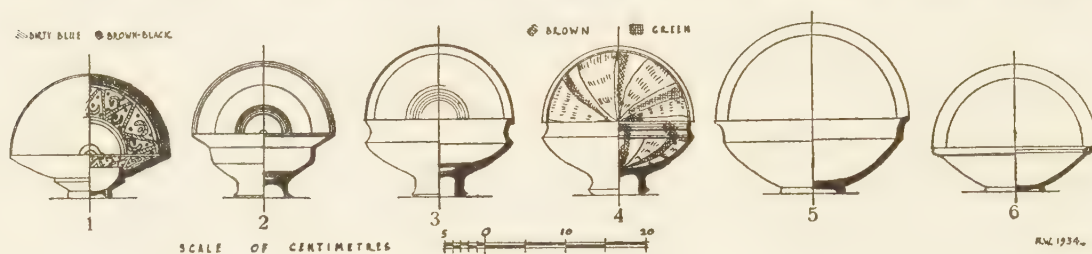


FIG. 13.

purposes. The western one (P-17. 3) had the stone-built bins standing breast-high which may have held grain; but there was also a cooking hearth and a group of common pottery, viz. two store jars for water (Pl. XXVI, 4, the other like Fig. 14, 10), smaller pitchers like Fig. 14, 11 and 12, and a heap of little jars of porous ware like Fig. 14, 9. The last are said to be the proper sort for preserving *kharrūb* syrup (Arabic *dibs*); found as they were, overlapping a wall which had been quarried subsequent to the fire, they might have been regarded as intrusive but for the fact that an identical jar was found under the roof debris in the south range, together with a horse-shoe (Pl. XXVI, 1; Fig. 14, 9). Among the iron objects there was a pot-hook (Fig. 15, 6) and what the Arabs call a *znād* (Fig. 15, 18), the steel for use with flint and tinder which they commonly carry on the cord hanging from the back of the head-rope or *'aqāl*. There was also an iron strap buckle (Fig. 15, 9) and two little bronze ones with wire tangs (Fig. 16, 4). The eastern room (Q-17. 1) differed from the rest in having a bench at the west, wide enough to sleep on; there were traces of similar benches on the south and south-east. The remaining corner was partitioned off by walls one stone thick which perhaps stood breast-high as with the bins in the room next door. Here a heap of miscellaneous iron was stored, which included most of the types illustrated in Fig. 15, p. 50; besides innumerable wrought iron nails, ranging from small tacks to spikes 25 cm. long (Fig. 15, 14), there were a lot of arrow-heads (3, 4); some horse-shoes (12, 13); several examples of the steel or *znād* already described (18); plain harness rings and buckles like (8, 17); and links for chains like (11); knives and tools such as a chisel (10) and hammer (19); strap-hinges and brackets for a door (15, 16) and bars suitable for windows such as those which exist in the outer range of the building. Some lumps of iron slag lay along one wall. There was

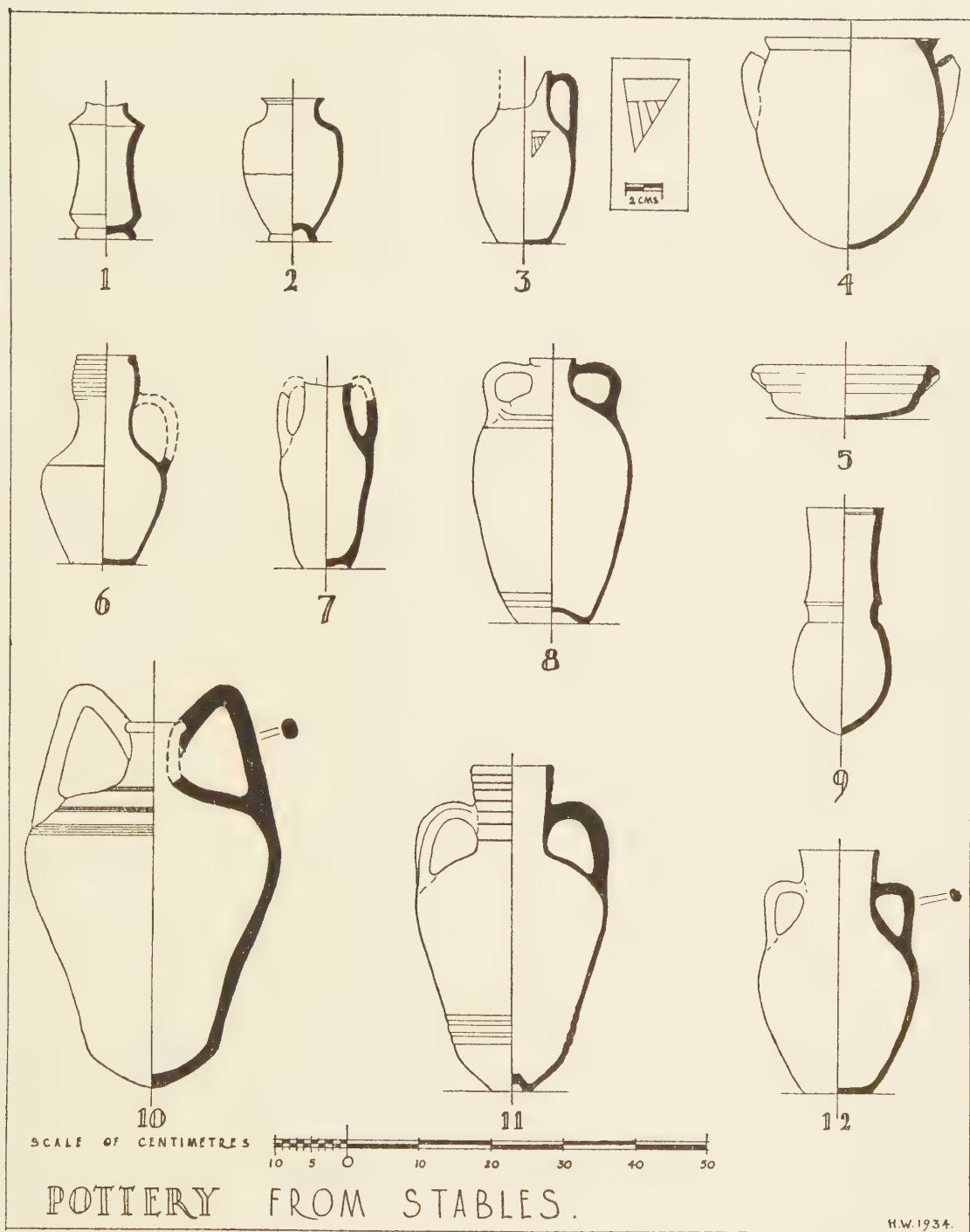


FIG. 14.

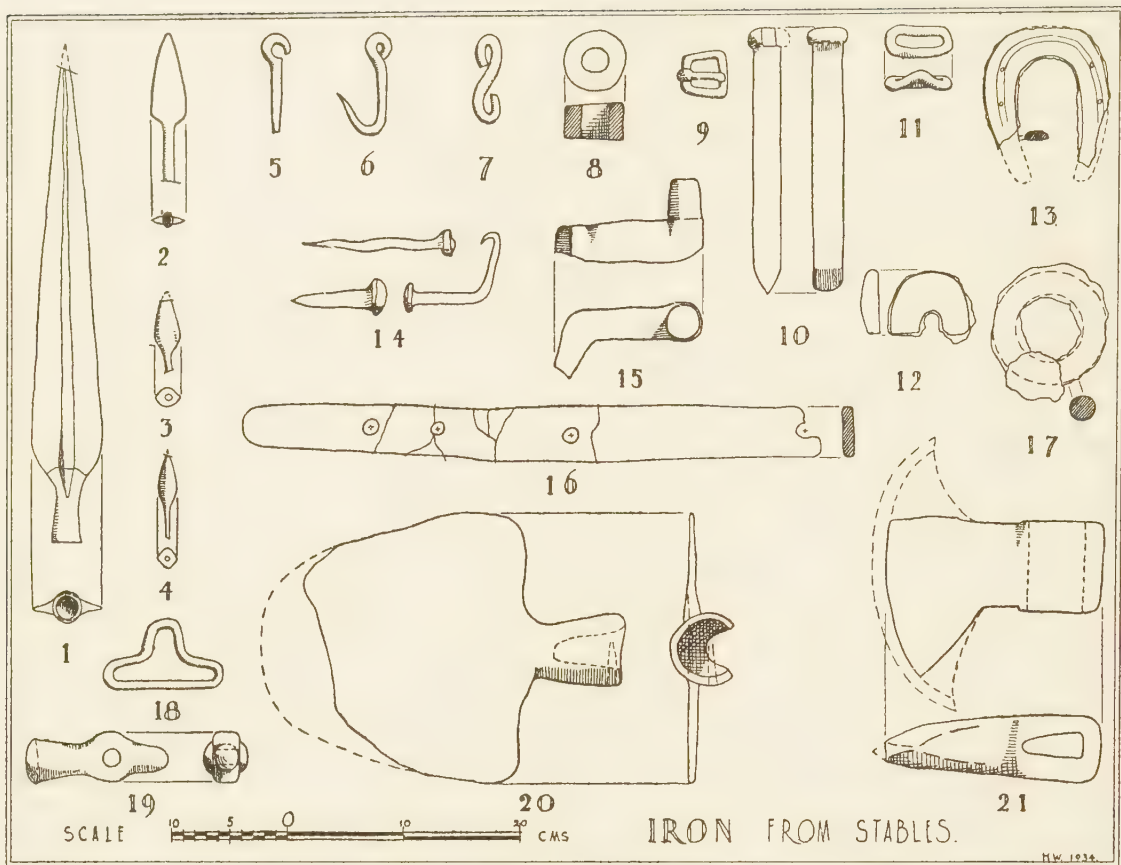


FIG. 15.

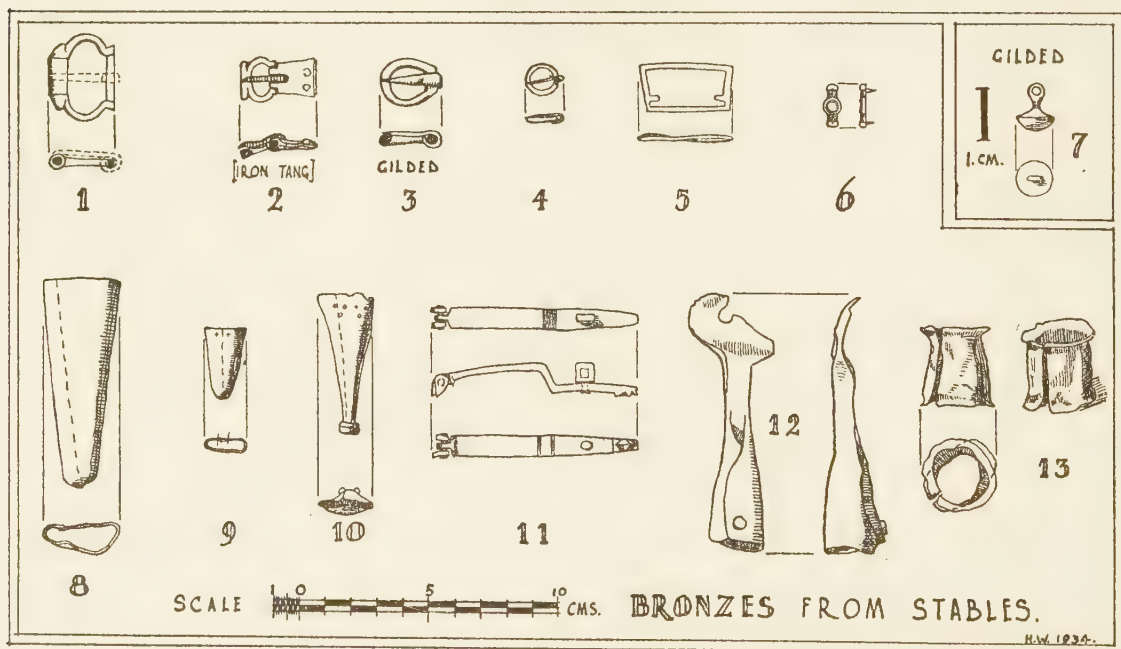


FIG. 16.

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some bronze, including a stout needle, perhaps a saddle-maker's, and the handle socket of some implement (Fig. 16, 12); and also some scraps of blue window glass and lead binding as found in the church,¹ and even some raw glass metal. Evidently it was the blacksmith's scrap heap; himself he must

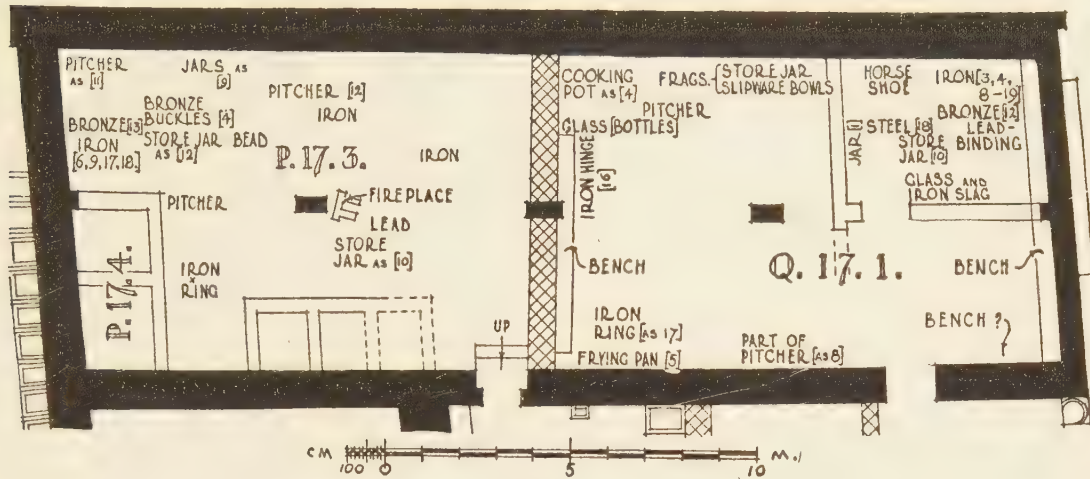


FIG. 17.

have worked somewhere outside, perhaps in the yard east of the gate (Q-17.4), where there were the stone sockets of a light wooden shelter. Both inside the cubicle and also in other corners of the room there were broken pots similar to those found elsewhere, viz. a large store jar (Fig. 14, 10) and pitchers for water; part of a platter or frying-pan, brown-glazed (Fig. 14, 5), and of a cooking-pot, also brown-glazed (similar to Fig. 14, 4); and a jar of *albarello* shape (Fig. 14, 1), with a poor yellowish glaze inside and out over a red body. In one corner there was a quantity of broken glass, belonging to two standard forms of bottle and beakers (drawn in Fig. 18), already familiar from other rooms in the stables, as well as from other parts of the site.

In the western range outside the yard, the harness or grooms' rooms may have been the ones at either end; in the north room (P-17.2) were found a bronze buckle (Fig. 16, 5) and fragments of several water pots (not unlike Fig. 14, 6); in the south room (P-18.3) another bronze buckle (Fig. 16, 2), besides a broken bowl of slip-ware (similar to Fig. 13, 6) and a broken cooking-pot. Originally these may have been the only rooms to spare in this range; at some later time, however, the greater part of the stabling was given up to living accommodation. It has been noted already how the stabling was first divided into two, a half to each doorway, and how the northern half was

¹ *Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 117.

refloored at a higher level and later subdivided (into P-18. 7 and 8); finally the stabling was abolished in those subdivisions, the coping of the troughs torn up, and benches made on the sole remaining course of the troughs (Pl. XXIII, 1). On the secondary floor corresponding to these benches sherds of the usual

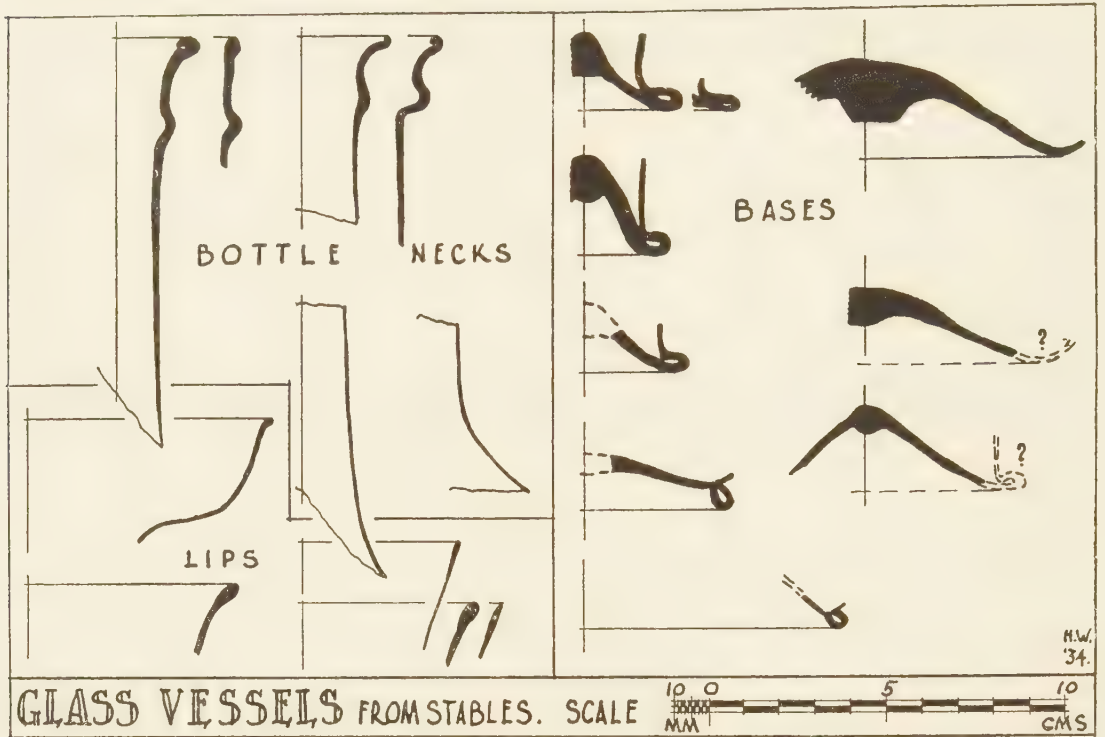


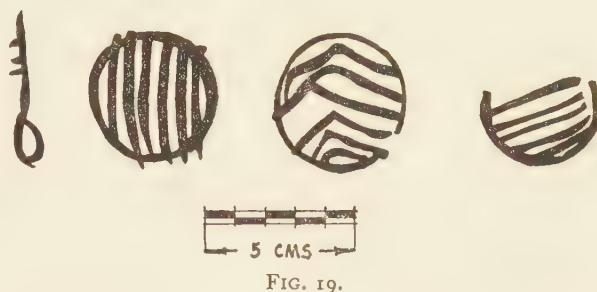
FIG. 18.

pottery were found, covered by roof debris. Similarly, in the room to the south (P-18. 5) where the stabling remained, a cubicle was made at the north end, and hereabouts, chiefly on a secondary level in the cubicle though independent of the one next door, domestic rubbish was found under the roof debris. It included sherds of slipware (such as Fig. 13, 3) and at least one water pot (such as Fig. 14, 6), together with the steel (*znād*), buckles and other details of harness typical of the other rooms already described. In addition, a heavy iron or steel spear-head was found in the cubicle at the bottom of the main cross wall (Pl. XXVI, 3) and beside it an axe-head (Fig. 15, 1 and 21, respectively). At the same time it should be noted that odd pieces of pottery and articles of equipment were found also in the ranges of stabling that did not undergo structural alterations. Of the objects illustrated, the iron spade (Fig. 15, 20) came from the south range of stables (Q-19. 1), where it was found

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lying in a depression in the paved floor beside a broken slipware bowl (Fig. 13, 6, cf. Pl. XXVI, 2); a curious bronze (Fig. 16, 11), possibly part of a lock, came from the south part of the west range (P-18. 9); while the bronze scabbard tips (Fig. 16, 8 and 9) were found in one of the pans in the store-room at the north-west (P-17. 1), together with a glazed bowl, mottled green and yellow (Fig. 13, 5). Without exception, all these objects were covered by the roof debris.

A few of the objects illustrated came from enclosures which were never roofed, where there was no roof debris and therefore no marked stratification apart from a general level of occupation. Such



were the enclosures east of the stable-yard (Q-18. 6 and 7), cut off from the yard by a wall of boulders; the yard itself (Q-18. 4 and 12); and the spaces in front of the outer range (P-18. 2 and 6) which may have been similarly enclosed. Where masonry had been quarried the blown sand was so shallow that Ottoman coins of the nineteenth century were found, as on the pavement of the yard. But a proportion of the sherds and other objects as well as the coins corresponded with what was found underneath the roof debris in the rooms already described. Certain of these unstratified objects have been included in the drawings instead of more imperfect specimens which really occurred under roof debris. Such are Fig. 16, 3, 6, and 7: respectively a bronze buckle, and a button, and a riveted fitting intended for wood or possibly for thick leather. Such again is Fig. 13, 1 (from Q-18. 4): a fragmentary plate of buff pottery, painted in blue and black on the rim, orange in the base, and glazed. It belongs to an exceptional class, very characteristic of the site,¹ sherds of which were occasionally found under roof debris. Similarly, Fig. 13, 4 (from Q-18. 6), a bowl of well-glazed slip-ware with a *graffiato* pattern splashed alternately green and orange, represents an equally characteristic class which was rather rare in the stables. At the same time, bowls of plain slip-ware with a warm yellow, brown, or green glaze were extremely common; they were simply decorated, either with *graffiato* bands on the rims and base (like Fig. 13, 2 and 3) or else with bands on the rim combined with a representation in the base resembling a blazon, sometimes a key but more often a roundel (Fig. 19). There are examples of each pattern from under the roof debris as well as from outside (Pl. XXVII), which may be compared with those found in the baths and in every other medieval building on

¹ *Quarterly*, Vol. III, pp. 137 ff.

the site so far excavated (see p. 56 below).¹ There was yet another class of ware which was found only outside in the open areas, never under undisturbed roof debris (Pl. XXVIII). The body is red or buff, usually thick and coarse

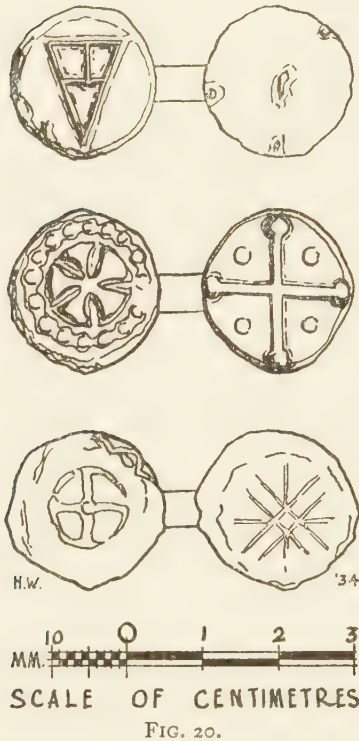


FIG. 20.

but well baked; the surface is smoothed with a slip of the same clay; and the design is drawn with a paint that fires a shiny red, purple, or black. From sherds excavated elsewhere on the site of the suburb two general shapes have been restored: a rather clumsy ewer and a heavy platter, the former of which is certainly represented in the stables in unroofed areas in which glazed slip-ware of the kinds already described also occurred and at much the same level (Pl. XXVII). But, although it is possible that the two types of decorated slip-ware, glazed and unglazed, were actually contemporaneous, yet it is extremely doubtful whether the unglazed was in use on this particular site in the period preceding the fire, as the glazed ware was. Introduced after the main occupation had closed, the unglazed slip-ware probably came from the hill country, where village pottery of the same sort is made to this day;² while the glazed slip-ware along with the glazed polychrome ware, both of which were clearly contemporary with the

main occupation, were in all probability imported: the commoner slip-ware probably from Cyprus, the rarer polychrome ware presumably from some more distant centre, possibly from Italy or some Italian colony in the Levant.³ However that may be, the pottery illustrated in Figs. 13 and 14 is conclusively of the main period of occupation preceding the destruction of the building; likewise the metal objects illustrated in Figs. 15 and 16. To these should be added several lead *jetons* found under the roof debris, some of which are illustrated in Fig. 20; they are of distinctively European or Crusader type, like the majority of the coins from among the roof debris now to be considered.

¹ *Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 129 and Pl. LIII; Vol. III, pp. 140 ff. and Pl. LVI.

² G. M. Crowfoot, 'Pots Ancient and Modern', *P.E.F. Quarterly Statement*, 1932, pp. 179 ff.

³ *Quarterly*, Vol. III, pp. 141 ff., and *Review of the Principal Acquisitions during the year 1933*, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, 1934, p. 12 f. The polychrome ware has since been reported from Corinth, where it also dates from the Frankish occupation of the thirteenth century, *Hesperia* (Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens), Vol. III, No. 2, 1934, p. 129.

VI. *Evidence for dating*

The coins found in the same rooms, either among the roof debris or on the floor underneath it, in the spaces which had not been interfered with by the uprooting of walls, give some indication of the length of the occupation preceding the fire, if not of its approximate limits. A few were Ayyubid, but the clear majority were Crusader. All of the latter were *deniers* of thin *billon*, many of them in a poor state of preservation, partly through wear, but partly no doubt on account of the fire. Only two were totally effaced, however, and all but three of the other eighteen could be identified. They were chiefly of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus, of the very end of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth, viz., Amalric II, Cyprus (1197), one;¹ Amalric II, Jerusalem (1197–1205), two, possibly a third;² Hugh I of Cyprus (1205–18), one; John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, type struck during the siege of Damietta (1219), one; Henry I of Cyprus (1218–53), four, perhaps two more. In addition, there was a *denier* of Sidon, probably to be attributed to Margaret (c. 1250); three of the type common to three successive Counts of Tripoli and Princes of Antioch, Bohemund IV, V, and VI (1201–68); one which has been variously attributed to both Hugh III of Burgundy (1163–93) and Hugh IV (1218–72), but probably belongs to the former;³ and one which may be either of Louis VIII of France (1223–6) or Louis IX (1226–70). Much the same range is covered by four Ayyubid bronze coins also found in the roof debris, viz., one of al-‘Azīz ‘Imād ad-dīn ‘Uthmān of Egypt (1193–8);⁴ one, possibly another, of al-‘Ādil I of Damascus (1195/6–1218) or al-‘Ādil II, also of Damascus (1238–40);⁵ and one presumably of Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl of Damascus (1236/7 or 1239/40–5).⁶ Altogether the coins found in the roof debris prove to be fairly evenly distributed over a period of about seventy years. It is especially significant that there were no Mamluk coins among them, because in the blown sand on top of the roof debris and in the unroofed enclosures several were picked up. They begin with a bronze coin distinguished by a lion rampant, the personal blazon of the sultan Baibars (1259/60–

¹ Type of Pl. VI, 3 in Dorothy M. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard*, American Numismatic Society's Notes and Monographs, No. 59 (New York, 1933), pp. 36, 45.

² *Ibid.*, types of Pl. VII, 1–4; cf. pp. 37 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, cf. Pl. IV, 1, but with continuous circles not dots, and a correctly written not a reversed final ‘S’. See also p. 25.

⁴ Lavoix, *Catalogues des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Égypte et Syrie* (Paris, 1896), No. 505, p. 194 f.

⁵ *British Museum, Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, Vol. IV, No. 357, p. 97.

⁶ Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Arabic Coins in the Khedivial Library*, Cairo (London, 1897), cf. No. 1464, p. 238, but the obverse differs; it clearly reads *أبن الملك العادل محمد*.

70); another of silver, clipped and worn, must be either of one of Baibars' predecessors, Manṣūr 'Alī (1257-9), or of the sultan Manṣūr Qalāwūn (1279-90);¹ a third, no better preserved, may be either of Qalāwūn or of one of his sons.² The rest are illegible, but seem to include Mamluke as well as Ayyubid types. Of the Mamluke coins which can be identified one at least is of later date than any coin found underneath the roof debris. As for Crusader or European coins, only two or three were picked up above the roof debris or outside it; the great majority were Moslem.

Such a complete reversal of the proportion which obtained among the roof debris can have only one explanation: that it was only after the fire which destroyed the roofs that Mamluke troops entered into occupation. Whether this took place at the final evacuation in 1291, or in some previous Mamluke attack such as the one recorded in 1264,³ the coins do not show conclusively. But from the stones found resting right on top of the roof debris in the southern range (Pl. XXI, 2) it is obvious that the fire was almost immediately followed by the destruction of that part of the town wall; had a single winter elapsed an appreciable thickness of blown sand would have been deposited first. Hence it seems most likely that it was the Mamluke wazīr of al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl who had the wall overthrown at the same time as he slighted the outer defences of the castle itself, which he occupied in August 1291;⁴ if so, it may have been the Templars themselves who fired the building when they abandoned it, only ten or twelve weeks before. In any event, the pottery and equipment found *in situ* underneath the roof debris must be entirely Crusader material, chiefly of the latter half of the thirteenth century, and cannot include objects of a later date introduced by the Mamluke army of occupation. In particular, the polychrome glazed pottery and slip-ware of the types shown in Fig. 13, p. 48, may therefore be regarded as distinctive of the Crusader occupation, if not exclusive to it; while the blazons of 'Saracenic' form which appear on many sherds, notably the roundel and key shown in Fig. 19, p. 53, must now be considered as either Ayyubid or Crusader, no longer as Mamluke;⁵ possibly they stood for different divisions of the Turcopoles or native auxiliaries who served with the Templars, being quartered in the suburb.

¹ Unpublished; the incomplete word *منصور* alone is legible.

² *B.M. Cat. Oriental Coins*, Vol. IV, apparently as No. 496, p. 147.

³ Röhrich, 'Études sur les derniers temps du Royaume de Jérusalem', in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Vol. II c, p. 378.

⁴ *Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 159.

⁵ As previously suggested in the *Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 140.

VII. *Some conclusions*

The evidence of the coins suggests that the building was in use for something like seventy years, almost as long as the castle itself remained in Crusader hands (1217–91). If so, it must have been one of the first works to be undertaken in the suburb. It was not the very first; both the south-east watch-tower and the town wall preceded it. Yet the town wall itself can hardly have been built before the twenties. Neither the Crusaders who began the castle in 1217, before leaving for Damietta, nor the Templars who took it over afterwards can have had the time or the means for anything but the castle if they had already made it strong enough to resist attack in 1219 or 1220.¹ After the Damietta expedition the Order found its resources exhausted; the Master, Pierre de Montaigu, wrote to the Bishop of Ely among others, urgently appealing for fresh funds: ‘If we are disappointed, all our newly acquired conquests, as well as the places we have held for ages past, will be left in a very doubtful condition’ (1222).² But as the garrison grew in response to such appeals, the need for permanent stabling and the like outside the castle walls must soon have arisen, at least for the numerous oxen employed in carting stone from the quarries, if not for the mounts of the garrison as well.

To this purpose the south end of the new bailey or suburb was chiefly given up (Fig. 21, p. 59). It was out of the way of other public buildings nearer the castle to the north, which have been traced though not yet excavated; and it was convenient for the pastures which lay outside the walls to the south, where the old field walls can be followed for fully three-quarters of a mile. Besides the main gate in the south wall of the suburb, approached by a bridge across the fosse suitable for wheeled traffic, a smaller gate for animals and men was made in the east wall, entered from the bottom of the fosse.³ Between them rose the hump of rock on which the south-east watch-tower stood. There are indications that this tower and some of its outbuildings were in existence before the town wall was built and the fosse excavated to its present depth; and among these rooms, either on the upper terrace or the lower terrace to the west, there was probably from the first some independent stabling for a few animals belonging to the post. When the fosse itself was only half excavated, temporary stabling was arranged against the counter-scarp, just as it had been in the older fort at the ‘Narrow Ways’ (Khirbet Dustrey):⁴ a continuous

¹ James of Vitry, *op. cit.*, p. 1144; Abū-l Fidā, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Orientaux*, (Paris, 1872), Tome I, p. 94. Cf. W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 305.

² Quoted by C. G. Addison, *The Knights Templars* (London, 1842), p. 156.

³ *Quarterly*, Vol. I, Figs. 18, 19 respectively, p. 123, also Pl. XLIX.

⁴ *Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. I (London, 1881), p. 309.

trough was hewn in the face of the scarp, long enough for ten animals, probably the oxen employed in the work.¹ Then within the enclosures on the west and north of the fort two wells were excavated in the rock, one with a stone watering trough beside it. Low rubble walls, recently rebuilt waist-high out of the fallen stone found beside them, formed these enclosures, which may have been used as yards for cattle. A similar wall, of which only the bottom course remains, seems to have enclosed the whole area to the north extending as far as the church. Inside it there was no trace of any habitable building; the slope against the town wall, which at first seemed as if it might conceal the debris of a row of pentises, is clearly one slope of a southern outlier of the ancient *tell*, the rest of which the Crusaders must have removed in digging the fosse and foundations of the wall. West of the wall the ground level is still much as they found it except for a certain accumulation of blown sand; at the south end, notably in the enclosure containing the well and trough, their ground level was in some places barely half a metre above burials of the eighth century B.C.² Opposite the foot-gate, however, they must have dug deep into these layers in cutting an approach to the higher level inside; but this cutting was found to have been re-filled, and the gateway blocked with masonry. As the blocking consisted of heavy stones it may well have been done by the Crusaders themselves, in order to make one gate less to defend. A field terrace wall of uncertain date, which followed the wall, ran right across the filling. Perhaps the area was originally enclosed as a park for small cattle; entered directly from the foot-gate it would have been very convenient for sheep and goats driven in for the night only. That it existed before the stables were built is suggested by the odd obtuse angle at the north-east corner of the stable-yard; had this been square with the south range it would not have left a roadway wide enough for wheeled traffic; and as it is, one of the quoin stones appears to have been worn away by cart-hubs bumping against it (Pl. XX, 3). Every cart entering the south gate had to pass through this gap, whether going to the west of the stables or on towards the castle, which was itself served by a wide gate suitable for carts at the south end of the counterscarp wall.³

Planned and built as a complete unit, the new stables at once provided for between 200 and 300 animals. The rooms were designed, it seems, for not less than 40 or 50 horses on the one hand, and on the other hand for an indefinite number of other animals of various classes but chiefly cattle: say a maximum of 250 draught oxen and cows, or alternatively rather less than 200

¹ *Quarterly*, Vol. I, Pl. XLVI (1) and pp. 113 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 145 ff. The burials are to be published in a later number.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 163, Fig. 6 facing p. 152.

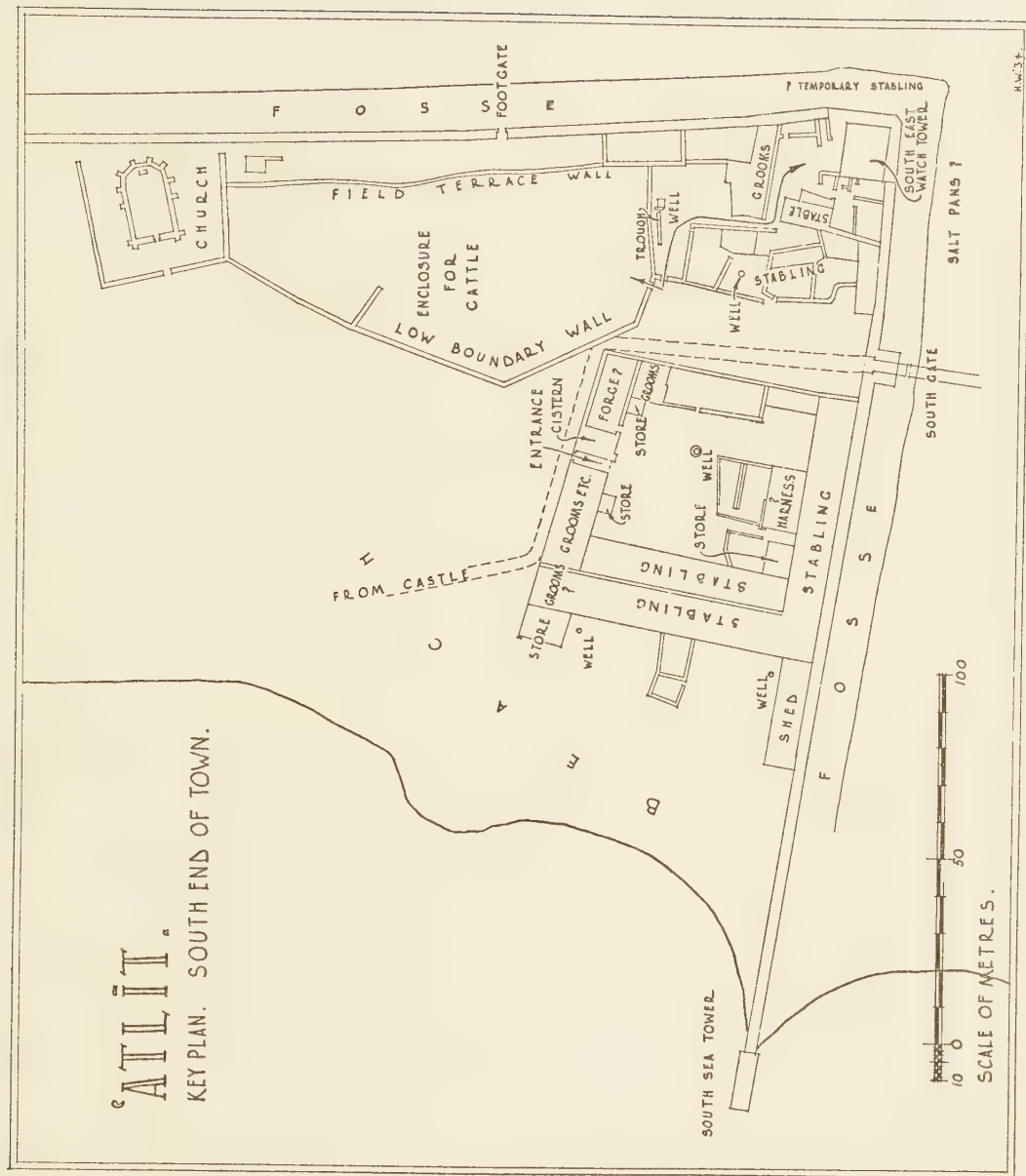
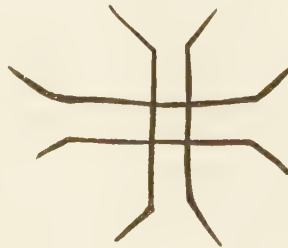


FIG. 21.

hacks, mules, and pack horses. The several partitions suggest that both were kept, though in the course of sixty or seventy years the total of each and their respective proportion must have fluctuated from time to time. Out in the open perhaps another hundred animals could have been accommodated temporarily, as a margin for a sudden influx of pilgrims arriving from Acre or Jerusalem. No doubt some of the stock was always reserved for the transport of pilgrims disembarking at the castle, just as it was in Jerusalem so long as the Commandery existed.¹ Quite possibly the several yards were also used for the camels or the pigs and other farm animals which the Order normally kept.² How far the knights used the stabling for their chargers and hacks it is hard to say; as they had three mounts each in the usual way, not many of them could have made use of the rooms specially intended for horses. It is unlikely that any of them did so. By their Rule they were obliged to visit their animals in stables twice during the night, coming straight from church after Compline and again after Matins and then returning to the dormitory.³ To visit the stables at the south-west of the suburb and return would have meant practically a mile's walk. Therefore it seems likely that they had another stable yet to be discovered, nearer the castle or even inside it. It was perhaps the Turcoples or native auxiliaries, having no religious offices to attend, who kept their horses at the south-west, along with the draught oxen, pack animals, and farm stock belonging to the knights. Mixed stables of this sort they would have called the *boverie* (*bouverie*).⁴ At Acre, the Order had two such establishments in the suburb of Montmusart,⁵ also within the walls, which were under the responsible charge of a full knight (*frère*).⁶ Conceivably the cross rudely cut on one of the lintels found in the south-western stables here (tailpiece and Pl. XXV, 3) is really a reproduction of the cross *gules*⁷ normally borne by the Templars in the thirteenth century.

C. N. JOHNS.

¹ *La Règle du Temple*, *op. cit.*, chap. 121.² *Ibid.*, chaps. 115, 662.³ *Ibid.*, chaps. 283, 305.⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 115.⁵ *Loc. cit.*, note. Cf. the 'Bouaria Templi' in Marino Sanudo's plan, late thirteenth century, Röhrich in *ZDPV*, Vol. X, p. 300, and Vol. XXI, Pl. 5, after p. 128.⁶ Curzon, *op. cit.*, chap. 591.⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 99 and no. 3.



1. Charred roofing timbers in the north range (P—17. 3, p. 34); springers belonging to the central arcade just show on the left, and the sole remaining course of the northern enclosure wall on the right; the heap of pottery overlapping the wall consisted of jars like Fig. 14, 9, on p. 49



2. Charred roofing timbers still connected by joists, preserved by a depression in the floor (Q—18. 8, p. 34)



1. A room in the outer west range (P—18.8) looking across to the south-east fort. Pillar sections rest on roof debris superimposed on the packing of a secondary floor (p. 32). The back wall has been partly reconstructed, including ventilation slots (cf. Pl. III, 1). In front of it is a secondary bench built on the sole remaining course of the original trough (pp. 36, 40)



2. The doorway to the same room; the sill was raised to correspond to the secondary floor seen in section in 1. above, and later raised still higher to correspond to the level of the superimposed roof debris, one of the pillar sections being utilized (pp. 32, 37)



1. A room adjoining the south range (Q—18. 1) showing a trough with octagonal pillars which perhaps supported a saddle-rack (p. 47, Fig. 11). The marble capital in the foreground was possibly utilized for one of these pillars. To the right is a stone water-butt



2. Footing stone for pillar showing the builder's guiding lines marked in black (at middle of west side, P—18. 3, cf. Fig. 4, p. 37)



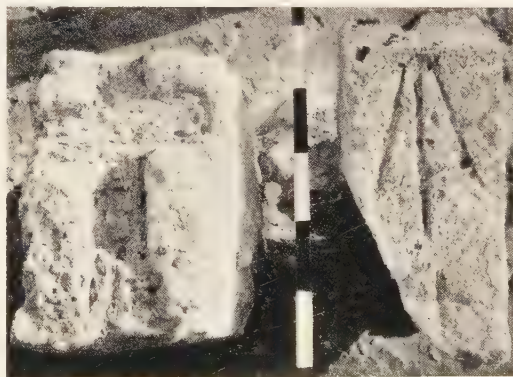
1. 'Board' for playing 'Nine Men's Morris'
scratched on the plastered surface on the roof,
p. 32



2. Stone 'board' for the same, from the
south-east fort



3. Stone lintel (from P—18. 6);
cf. tailpiece, p. 60

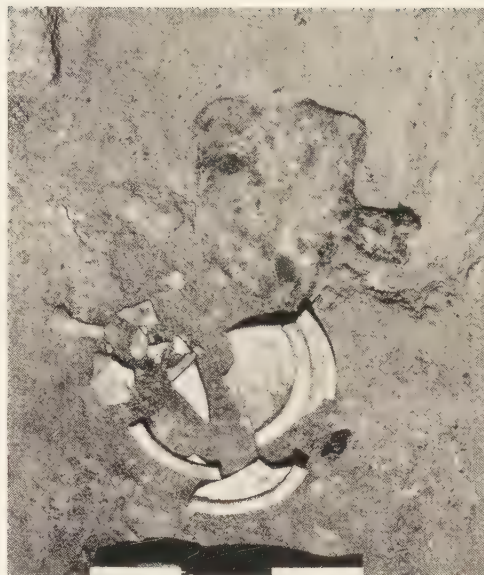


4. Squared stone
(from Q—18. 10)

5. Broken voussoir
(from north-west corner
of yard (Q—18. 12)



1. Iron hind shoe (Fig. 8 on p. 43) and broken jar (Fig. 14, 9 on p. 49) as found on floor of south range (Q—19. 3), with fragment of roof concrete on left



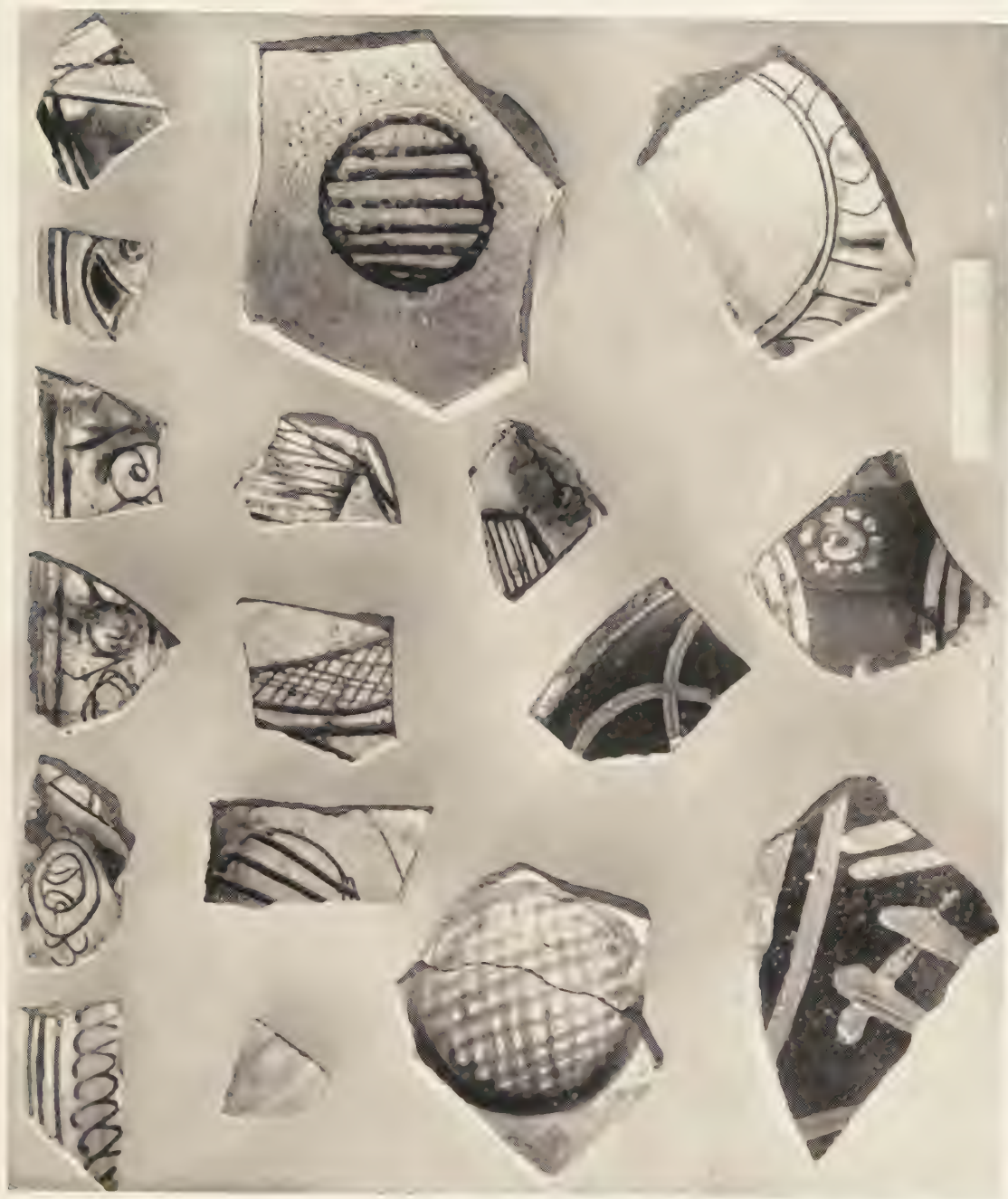
2. Iron spade (Fig. 15, 20 on p. 49) and broken slip-ware plate (Fig. 13, 6 on p. 48) as found on floor of south range (Q—19. 1)



3. Iron spearhead (Fig. 15, 1 on p. 49) as found on secondary floor in outer range (against cross wall, north end of P—18. 5, p. 52)



4. Reconstructed water jar (P—17. 3)



SHRDS OF VARIOUS BOWLS, MOSTLY OF GLAZED SLIPWARE, FROM UNROOFED ENCLOSURES
IN THE STABLES, p. 53



SHERDS OF VARIOUS WATER POTS OF UNGLAZED SLIPWARE WITH PAINTED DECORATION, FROM UNROOFED ENCLOSURES IN THE STABLES, p. 54

A HOARD OF BRONZES FROM ASKALON

c. fourth century B.C.

THE groups of bronzes here published provisionally were obtained some from a dealer, through whom they were traced to the finder and hence to the spot whence they came, and some (the majority) by a sounding carried out subsequently on the site by Mr. J. Ory, Inspector of the Department. Those obtained from the dealer are distinguished by an asterisk, although it is clear that both groups are homogeneous, and belong to one and the same hoard.

The original discovery had been made in the course of the cutting of a towing-path by the owner to enable a camel to draw water from a well. Mr. Ory's sounding revealed, at a depth of about 3 metres, the remains of a square room in which the bronzes occurred, together with typical pottery of the fifth to second century B.C., including Greek red-figured and black-glazed ware, hole-mouth jars of the Persian period, and Greek wine-jar handles. Mr. Ory states that the objects found by him 'were recovered from a precisely defined stratification and appear to belong to an ancient metal-worker's shop'. A second sounding by Mr. Ory near the same spot produced no building, but, between 1 and 3 metres down, pottery similar to that described above. It seems clear that the bronzes are of the same approximate date as the pottery, i.e. about the fourth century B.C.¹ They are probably of local Palestinian manufacture, as seems to be evidenced amongst other things by the style of features of, e.g., Nos. 12, 13, and 10.

The head and face of the reclining ram, No. 15 (c) (Pl. XXXIV, 7), strongly suggest Mesopotamian influence. Two of the human figurines are obviously of a totally different style from the rest, Nos. 12 and 13 (Pl. XXXIV, 1, 2). They belong to the native Palestinian tradition, uninfluenced by Egypt or Mesopotamia. One of them occurred amongst the group obtained from the dealer, and might well have been suspected as intrusive, had not a similar one been found by Mr. Ory in the course of his soundings.

The bronzes include human figures, animals, and weights. It seems probable that the animal figures (all reclining except, of course, the Apis bulls and the donkey, No. 14) are also intended as weights. No. 4 (ii), Isis nursing Horus, still retains on the face the original gold leaf with which it was covered. It is probable that most, if not all, the figurines were similarly gilded.

¹ Mr. Alan Rowe, without knowing the circumstances of the find, or the occurrence of the pottery, dated the figurines from the XXXth Dynasty to the early Ptolemaic era, more probably to the latter period.

The bronzes may be divided into the following groups :

Figurines

1. *Harpocrates* (seven examples).

(i) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2776. (Pl. XXIX, 1.) Upper half only, broken across below waist. On the r. of the head is an attachment with hole for the lock of hair (missing). The eyes were inlaid. It is notable that the figurine is of solid bronze. There is a hole where the uraeus was attached, above the forehead.

(ii) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2777. (Pl. XXIX, 2.) He is seated, and wears the double crown. The finger of his r. hand is placed to his lip, and he has the lock of hair and uraeus on the forehead. There is a loop at the back of the neck for attachment. The feet rest on a sloping pedestal below which are the remains of a prong for insertion into a socket.

(iii) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2778. (Pl. XXIX, 3.) The god seated, his arms by his sides and hands outspread, in attitude reminiscent of Imouthis. Lock of hair and uraeus. An incised collar around his shoulders.

(iv) *Mus. Cat. No. 34.30. (Pl. XXIX, 4.) The god seated, arms and hands as before. The lock of hair has been broken away, leaving the signs of its attachment. It does not appear that the figure had a uraeus on the forehead.

(v) *Mus. Cat. No. 34.29. (Pl. XXIX, 5.) The god seated, wearing lock of hair, solar disc, and uraeus. Arms as before. The peg below the pedestal remains.

(vi) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2779. (Pl. XXIX, 6.) The god seated, wearing the lock of hair. Arms as before. His feet rest on a pedestal. Behind his shoulders is a circular loop for attachment.

(vii) *Mus. Cat. No. 34.33. (Pl. XXIX, 7.) The god seated, with arms as before. He wears a wig coming down over his shoulders, and over it the lock of hair. This combination is unusual.

2. *Osiris* (seven examples).

(i) *Mus. Cat. No. 34.23. (Pl. XXX, 1.) The god standing, wearing Atef crown and uraeus, holding in r. hand crook and in l. flagellum. The pedestal on which he stands has a circular loop still remaining at the l. side; other loops below have been broken away. Behind, between the shoulders, is another circular loop continued down in a bar to the feet, where it passed into the attachment below the pedestal.

A HOARD OF BRONZES FROM ASKALON

(ii) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2540. (Pl. XXX, 2.) The god standing, with Atef crown, uraeus, crook, and flagellum as before. Peg for attachment below pedestal.

(iii) *Mus. Cat. No. 34.26. (Pl. XXX, 3.) The god standing, as before, wearing Atef crown and uraeus, and holding crook in r. and flagellum in l. hand. Peg for attachment below pedestal.

(iv) *Mus. Cat. No. 34.24. (Pl. XXX, 4.) The god standing, wearing Atef crown and uraeus. Crook in l. hand, flagellum in r. Peg for attachment below pedestal.

(v) *Mus. Cat. No. 34.25. (Pl. XXX, 5.) The god standing, wearing Atef crown and uraeus, and holding crook in l. hand and flagellum in r. Peg below pedestal; circular loop behind neck for attachment.

(vi) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2774. (Pl. XXX, 6.) The god standing, wearing Atef crown and uraeus, and holding crook in l. hand and flagellum in r. Peg below pedestal.

(vii) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2211. (Pl. XXX, 7.) The god standing, wearing Atef crown and uraeus, and holding crook in l. hand and flagellum in r. Behind, between the shoulders, a two-ribbed circular loop for attachment, continuing in a bar down the back. At either side of head a loop, evidently for the attachment of the ears. This figurine has an unusually heavy pedestal, with no trace of a peg.

3. *Apis Bull* (three examples).

(i) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2770. (Pl. XXXI, 1.) Apis bull, standing on a pedestal, with feet apart, wearing solar disc and uraeus. On his forehead an incised triangle; on his shoulders a winged scarab, incised, and on his back an ornamental covering-cloth and vulture with outstretched wings, also incised. In the middle of his back a loop for attachment, and remains of a peg, also for attachment, below pedestal.

(ii) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2769. (Pl. XXXI, 2.) Apis bull, as before, standing on pedestal, with feet apart, wearing solar disc and uraeus. On his forehead an incised triangle. Round his neck a collar, on his shoulders a winged scarab, on his back an ornamental covering-cloth and another winged scarab, all incised. Peg for attachment below pedestal broken away.

(iii) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2541. (Pl. XXXI, 3.) Smaller Apis bull, standing on pedestal, with feet apart. Wears solar disc and uraeus. On forehead, traces of an incised triangle; the shoulders and back are plain. Peg for attachment below pedestal.

4. *Isis nursing the Child Horus* (two examples).

(i) Mus. Cat. No. 33.2775. (Pl. XXXI, 4.) Isis, seated, wearing solar disc and horns, also uraeus on forehead, holds Horus seated in her lap. Horus wears the lock of hair. Isis holds her r. hand covering her breasts. Remains of peg under pedestal for attachment.

(ii) *Mus. Cat. No. 34.27. (Pl. XXXI, 5.) Isis, seated, wearing solar disc and horns, also uraeus on forehead, holds Horus seated in her lap. Horus has the lock of hair. Isis holds her r. hand covering her breasts; her feet are missing. Covering her face and the uraeus above are the remains of a layer of gilt, which once apparently overlay the whole figurine. It is possible that most of the figurines in the group were similarly gilded.

5. *Anubis* (one example).

Mus. Cat. No. 33.2772. (Pl. XXXII, 1.) Anubis, standing on pedestal, with l. foot advanced and arms hanging by his sides. He wears a wig, and kilt. Behind his head a loop for attachment; also a peg below pedestal.

6. *Bastet* (one example).

Mus. Cat. No. 33.2771. (Pl. XXXII, 2.) Bastet, standing, clad in a long tunic, on hollow rectangular pedestal, originally filled with lead, of which part remains. Over the r. shoulder she carries a sistrum; at her breast she holds the aegis of Bastet; and from her l. elbow depends a basket.

Of the attributes the aegis of Bastet may be seen in, e.g., Blanchard, *Hand-book of Egyptian Gods and Mummy Amulets*, Pl. XII, 47; *British Museum Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms* (1922), p. 193, &c. More interesting is the basket which she carries, hanging from her l. arm. This was for the purpose of carrying cats, as is proved by the existence of three amulets, each representing the basket of Bastet, and two of them actually containing figures of cats inside.¹ Sir Flinders Petrie has suggested that this type of basket may have been used for the conveyance of sacred cats kept in the temple of Bubastis.² Two small model baskets of lead are

¹ Cf. A. Rowe, *Cat. of Scarabs, &c., in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, No. A. 53 (to be published in 1935); Cartwright, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XLV (1929), Fig. 17 (opp. p. 190). The third is from Mr. Rowe's excavations at Meydūn, Tomb 314, No. 30.1.265 (to be published); it is an amulet in the shape of a basket; faience, green glaze; with two loop handles; a cat is seated within. The second example above also contains a cat.

For these and other Egyptological references I am greatly indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Rowe.

² Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie and J. G. Duncan, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906), p. 32, Pl. XXXIV A (from Tell er-Retāba).

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also published by Sir Flinders Petrie;¹ it is not impossible that they too were connected with the worship of Bastet.

Finally, the cats and basket are seen together on a statuette of Bastet in Berlin.² She holds a cat in either hand; a basket hangs from either arm; an aegis rests on either shoulder, above which monkeys play. Beside her r. knee a monkey also plays the flute.

7. *Solar Deity* (one example).

*Mus. Cat. No. 34.34. (Pl. XXXII, 3.) Probably Amen. The god stands on a pedestal, with l. foot advanced, and arms by his sides. He wears a kilt, reaching to just above the knee. His chin has a false beard. On his head he wears a wig, descending over his shoulders, and, above, a composite crown consisting of horns, solar disc, and plumes. The face and crown are much worn.

8. *Seated Ibis*. (*Thoth*.)

Mus. Cat. No. 33.2768. (Pl. XXXII, 4.) Ibis seated, with legs drawn up under him.

This figure seems to be a confusion between Thoth and Bāh. The latter may be (1) a place; (2) the name for inundation; (3) the god of the inundation. Here (3) is in question. Usually this god is in the form of a heron, perching on a log floating on the waters.³ The ibis-headed Thoth is seen represented with legs of this form and in this attitude in Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 87, Fig. 78.

9. *Serpent-headed god*.

Mus. Cat. No. 33.2773. (Pl. XXXII, 5.) The god stands on a pedestal, with l. foot advanced. He wears a wig, falling down over the shoulders, and is apparently nude. His arms hang down by his sides. Under the pedestal is a peg for attachment.

Here again there would seem to be some telescoping of different deities, or misunderstanding of form and attributes. It is suggested⁴ that the present figure may represent Geb (var. Gebeb), the earth-god, husband of Newt

¹ Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis* (IV), p. 20, Pl. XVI, 2 and 3.

² Berlin, 12424. Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 179, Fig. 85. For a good statuette of Bastet v. also Daressy, *Catalogue Général des Ant. Ég. du Musée du Caire, Statues de divinités*, No. 38.991.

³ v. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 401; A. Erman-H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, Vol. I, p. 448, s.v. *b'ḥ*; A. H. Gardiner, *Ég. Grammar* (1927), p. 461, G 32. Cf. also Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. XLII, 247 a-1, and p. 49.

⁴ By Mr. Rowe.

(Nut), the sky-goddess,¹ or one of the other deities referred to in note 2 below. A serpent-headed deity occurs also on a Hyksos scarab from Balāṭa (Shechem).²

10. *Priest of Amen-Ra.*

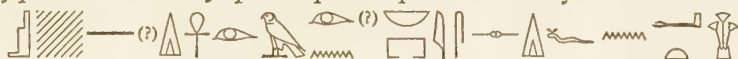
*Mus. Cat. No. 34.35. (Pl. XXXIII, 1.) A priest, standing, on pedestal; l. foot advanced. He wears a kilt. R. forearm raised as if making a sign, or in adoration. In l. hand he holds in front against his body a seated figure of Bes. Under his l. arm are two papyrus rolls, a symbol of the priestly office. He stands in front of a thin flat object, pointed at the top and reaching to the level of his ears. This obviously represents an obelisk. In that event the figure might be a priest of Amen-Ra, of whose temple the obelisk formed an essential part, as representing his dwelling. A parallel figurine is in the Alexandria Museum.³ There comes also from the Karnak cache a statuette of a priest standing in front of an obelisk-shaped support.⁴ This is dated to the early Ptolemaic period, and is a further independent confirmation of the date here assigned to the Askalon hoard.

The statuette is in excellent condition, and one of the best specimens of the group, as well for interest as for quality.

11. *Kneeling Priest.*

*Mus. Cat. No. 34.31. (Pl. XXXIII, 2.) A kneeling man, nude except for a kilt, his elbows resting on his stomach and hands raised in an attitude of prayer, probably represents a priest. A peg for attachment extends downwards from between his legs. The receding head and the features are rendered with a considerable amount of individuality and feeling. The bent toes on which he is partly supported are a further detail of the same kind.

Up the middle of his back rises a pillar inscribed with a very corrupt text in hieroglyphs. This *may* perhaps be provisionally read:⁵



Wsir (?)—....., *di 'nh, ir Hr, ir (?) n nbt pr Iśś; di-f n 't hś (?) = Wesir(?)*—

¹ A somewhat similar figure is shown in Budge, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 104 ('Seb and Nut').

² A. Rowe, *Catalogue of Scarabs, &c., in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, No. 293; cf. Sellers, *ZDPV*, 1927, Taf. 28 aa, and p. 266. Also Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. XXXVI, 203 a, b, d, p. 43; Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (1928), Vol. II, pp. 101, 181, Pl. XIV (opp. p. 300), p. 322, 366, &c. Others occurring on scarabs in the Palestine Museum include: No. 573 of Mr. Rowe's Catalogue (goddess); No. 576 (giving the abbreviated name of Sa-ta, a designation of serpent-headed deities). Cf. *Wörterbuch*, Vol. III, p. 410.

³ v. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 159, Fig. 66, and his remarks there.

⁴ Fairman, *JE*, Vol. XX (1934), pp. 1 ff. and Pls. I and II.

⁵ Provisional reading of Mr. Rowe.

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....., *di ānkh, ir Her, ir (?) ne nebt per Ises; di-ef ne āt ḥa*. 'Osiris (?) -
....., given life! son of Horus (?), son of the lady of the house Isis; he
gives.'

12. *Man with pole and bag.*

Mus. Cat. No. 33.2780. (Pl. XXXIV, 1.) A man standing, with legs apart and r. arm held out horizontally, carries over his l. shoulder a pole (?) from which hangs a bag down his back. Three diagonal incisions on either side over the ribs may indicate a belt.

The figure is of interest for its style, which is local, in contrast to that of all the other figures in the group except No. 13. Though it may be that all the figurines were made in Palestine, these are the only two which may be said to be of a distinctly Palestinian style. Their occurrence here in combination with a group of Egyptianizing figurines of comparatively good contemporary style is a curious witness to the survival of a taste for this style in competition with the more advanced manner of Egypt and Greece, even in such a centre of art and commerce as Askalon.

The interpretation of the figure is not certain. It may represent a king or god holding a bag (of perfume or other valuable stuff?); for this a parallel seems to occur on two scarabs in the Museum.¹ Alternatively it may be a symbol for a herdsman or wanderer, since it bears some resemblance to a hieroglyphic character which has that meaning.²

13. *Man or god with conical head-dress.*

*Mus. Cat. No. 34.32. (Pl. XXXIV, 2.) A man or god standing, draped, his hands held in front of him, probably once carrying some object. On his head a conical cap. The figure is flat, and the body unmodelled, tapering to a mere point at the base.

This is the second figurine of local style in the group. Though rather worn, the features are evidently of the same style as those of No. 12.

14. *Donkey.*

Mus. Cat. No. 33.2781. (Pl. XXXIV, 3.) A still lively, though considerably damaged donkey stands in a characteristic attitude; his tail is raised, and he seems just about to gallop away. He stands on a pedestal.

Another figure of a donkey, in pottery, is published by A. H. Gardiner in *JEA*, Vol. IV, p. 31, Pl. VII. It carries two panniers with large jars.

¹ Mus. Cat. Nos. 32.1580 and 32.1589. Nos. 722 and 154 in Mr. Rowe's Catalogue.

² Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 438, sign A 33.

15. *Weights of Animal Form.*

Mus. Cat. Nos. 33·2766, 33·2767, 33·2536, and *34·28. (Pl. XXXIV, 4-7.)

These four animal weights¹ are of bronze filled with lead. The first two are in the form of reclining bulls, the third a ram, and the fourth (much worn) probably a lion. A similar couched lion found at Tell Abu Hawām is assigned by Mr. Hamilton to the Graeco-Persian period.² A square hole has been cut in the side of the second (No. 33·2767) to admit the lead, and afterwards filled by inserting a bronze patch.

The third (No. 33·2536) is a ram, and distinctly suggestive of Mesopotamian style. The animal forms in themselves are no reliable indication of date, as they occur regularly from the New Empire onwards.

Weights

16. *Weights of Geometrical Form.*

Mus. Cat. Nos. *34·36, *34·37, *34·39, *34·38, *34·54, *34·55, and *34·56. (Pl. XXXIV, 8-14.)

These seven weights,³ all of bronze, are in the form of rough cubes or truncated pyramids. No. 34·39 has four miniature feet. Four of them have incised marks of doubtful significance. These may be some form of numeral; they are certainly not Semitic.⁴

The hoard also included two terra-cotta figurines of Isis nursing Horus, a Wedjat eye amulet in the usual blue glazed paste, a bone spatula, the pointed base of a heavy jar with remains of red ochre, and several other objects of the kind, well known in the Persian period. Perhaps the chief interest of the present hoard lies in the circumstance that the figurines all form a homogeneous group, in addition to their being of good quality and well preserved. Their occurrence *in situ* at Askalon (as a chance and disconnected find, moreover) should be a further stimulus to any one contemplating the excavation of that important site.

J. H. ILIFFE.

¹ The weights of Nos. 33·2766 and 33·2536 (the only two unbroken ones) are 427·5 and 40·5 gm. respectively. For some parallels cf. Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, Frontispiece, &c.; Weigall in *Proceedings, Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXIII (1901), pp. 378 ff. and Pl. V. The present weights are probably on the Attic drachma standard, as Weigall, *loc. cit.*, e.g. No. F. 7064.

² *QDAP*, Vol. IV, pp. 18, No. 39.

³ Weights: No. 34·36, 78·8 gm. No. 34·54, 44·3 gm.
 „ 34·37, 11·2 „ „ 34·55, 15·6 „
 „ 34·39, 21·5 „ „ 34·56, 13·8 „
 „ 34·38, 15·7 „

⁴ As I am informed by Dr. Sukenik, who kindly examined them for me.



A HOARD OF BRONZES FROM ASKALON



A HOARD OF BRONZES FROM ASKALON
(Full size)



A HOARD OF BRONZES FROM ASKALON
(Full size)



A HOARD OF BRONZES FROM ASKALON
(Full size)



A HOARD OF BRONZES FROM ASKALON
(Full size)



A HOARD OF BRONZES FROM ASKALON
(Full size)

EVLIYA TSHELEBI'S TRAVELS IN PALESTINE. III¹

THE Tomb of Sām is built in another part of the 'House of Sorrows'. In ^{fo. 87^r} the mosque containing the tombs of the children of Ya'qūb there is a ^{l. 13} place with the impression of Yahūda's footprint. There is also a huge cave with its entrance overhung with a green curtain. Nobody may enter it, as the ^{fo. 87^r} wife of the Apostle of Allah rests there. Her honoured name is unknown. ^{l. 15} However, Ayyūb's spouse, Rāḥima Āna, was buried in the 'House of Ifrāim'—peace be on him. She is the daughter of Ifrāim, the prophet, son of Yūsuf. She rests in that cave.

All the members of the families of those prophets who lived in this country were buried in this cave. At times female voices are heard from within. Sometimes people have been stupid enough to peep from behind the screen into the interior. By the act of God they were struck with blindness. Both door-keepers and guardians of these shrines prevent any one from looking into it.

Thank God, I have duly visited this shrine, recited my morning prayer ^{fo. 87^r} there, as well as a *khatm*, from beginning to end, which lasted until the late ^{l. 20} afternoon. I finished it and assigned its merit to the noble souls, after having prayed for help from their spiritual power (*rūḥāniyyét*), and having felt very close to them. May Allah's mercy be on all of them!

Near the 'House of Sorrows' is the House of Ishāq, consisting of a natural but partly built cave. Ishāq's children are buried within. Yet I do not know their honourable names.

About fifty paces eastwards from there is the 'House of Ismā'il', with pleasant water. It is a cave high up. Near by is the 'House of Ayyūb'. When he married the daughter of Ifrāim, son of Yūsuf, all the wolves of the desert (*jevdén*) fed in this city and were satisfied (*ḥayāt bulmush*). He attained the age of (1)31 years. I have no idea where his tomb is, though the inhabitants of Şafad state that he lies buried somewhere by the side of the avenue (*ḥayabān*) near their city.

Amongst the foremost sages (*'ulema*) of Anatolia buried in the ground of the ^{fo. 87^r} 'House of Sorrows' is 'Alemshāh 'Abdurrahmān Effendi. His tomb is con- ^{l. 25} structed of natural white marble. He was one of the pious men of the nation, a learned and virtuous person. His abode was in the good city of Constantinople. He was the honoured son of Sācīly Emīr Effendi. He is stated to have passed away on a sudden. Previously the office of Qāzi of Şafad was conferred on him. It is said that this happened only recently, as I have ascertained myself from the vestiges of the construction (*sc.* of the tomb). His learned

¹ Continued from Vol. IV, p. 164.

works, written in a fine hand, are kept there (*sc.* in Şafad) amongst the records. The shrine of Sheikh Ni'me is within his mosque. Near the new bath is that of Sheikh Aḥmad al-Fuḥeṣ, while Sheikh Adīb rests above the vaults. Above the Kurdish quarter is Sheikh Shamsu-d-dīn al-'Ajami. In the open
 fo. 87^r praying place (*muṣalla*) is Seyyid 'Abdulqādir b. Ḥabīb; near by, on an
 l. 30 elevated site, lies Sheikh Ḥasan Hindī. Sheikh Ḥaidari is beside him. Near the *Ḥāmi' al-mu'allaq* is Sheikh 'Ammār.¹ The shrine of Sheikh Kurīl(?) is in a small praying place in front of the Serai of the Pasha. Near by is the shrine of the Forty (Martyrs). Sheikh 'Īsa and Sheikh Musmār are buried in one place within the 'Mosque of the Two Brothers'.

We then mounted our weak, patient horses and rode to the south of the city, whence in an hour the avenue of '*Beitu-l-aḥzān*' led to Jabal Kan'ān. Ya'qūb used to bring his children to this wood to let them have some fresh air. It is an avenue unequalled in any country. (Dark) as the Arabian coverings (*kisvetler*),² its branches are intertwined, making a shady place which the sun cannot penetrate at all. It is an arrow-proof thicket; a lovely place to go to for sightseeing and promenading.

fo. 87^r As this site offers a most lovely view, the notables of Şafad resort here for
 l. 35 outings. These mountains abound with springs from the flow of tears which once gushed forth from the eyes of the prophet Ya'qūb. This site is therefore known as the 'Avenue of Sorrow' (*ḥayabān-i ḥuzn*). Yet the visitor to this site will grow happy and joyful, for—as the '*ulema* of Şafad maintain—on this site seven hundred prophets are venerated. Thank God, I visited this place too.

Taking leave of the present governor and his nephew Mīr 'Assāf, we went down the hill at a distance of one hour and a half from Şafad, with ten comrades. To the left was the citadel of *Jabal 'Iqāb*,³ which Nebuchadnezzar destroyed in olden times. In this mountain there are over five hundred caves, which seem to be unique (*yetimānde nīshān vermek*). The Children of Israel
 fo. 87^r fled from the plague and hid themselves in these caves. Thereupon Allah sent
 l. 40 them a barren breeze (*rīḥ-i 'aqīm*) so that all of them died in those caves. Their skeletons, heaped up, can still be seen there. At times people of the district (*vilāyet*) keep their sheep and goats there during winter time.

Passing that place in a southerly direction for an hour, we reached the

¹ Şafad town plan (Survey of Palestine), 195-260.6.I.

² This may refer to the hangings of the Ka'ba, which, since the fourteenth century at least, have been black (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Vol. I, p. 100, ll. 12 ff.) or to the Beduin tents.

³ Obviously identical with the Oued el-A'kab of V. Guérin (*Description de la Palestine, Galilée*, Vol. II, p. 402 f.).

famous Vale of the Lemons¹ (*lēmūn deresi*), where there is a limpid spring. It has its source at the Jebel 'Antar² and falls (lit. mixes itself with, *mahlūt* c.) into the Lake of Minya³ (*Buḥeire-i Minya*). In A.H. 1059 this place was passed (*sc.* by the author on his way to Damascus) with Murtaḡa Pasha. Going ^{fo. 87^r} from there through valleys and over hills, mountains and slopes (*bāyerler*) and ^{l. 41} climbing barren mountain ranges we arrived at the 'Ain et-Tīn, i.e. the 'Brook(!) of Figs'. It has its source in the mountains of Mecca and falls near this road into the Lake of Tiberias, i.e. the Lake of Minya. Its water is palatable and easily digested (lit. pleasant to swallow and easy to digest, *khōsh guvār*). The borders of this brook abound with exceedingly awe-inspiring, dangerous ambush places and are the hunting-grounds of the brigands of the Terābi tribe (*Terābi oghlu*). We passed the place in safety. The spring comes ^{fo. 87^v} from the Valley of the Terābi mountains and falls into the Lake of Minya ^{l. 45} too. It is a small brook with delicious water. At this site was the great fortress of Ṭabaristān, on the shore of the Lake of Minya.

The 'blind' Tīmūr Lenk (*Tīmūr bī-nūr*) devastated Damascus, had this fortress also destroyed from its very foundations, and continued his way to Jerusalem. It is related that this citadel was of the size of that of Aleppo. The traces of its buildings are still visible and evident (*bāhir*). The lake is called after this fortress. Yet its popular name is 'Lake of Minya', though the correct one is 'Lake of Ṭabariyya'.

Here ends the country of Canaan. At present the vilāyet of Ṭabaristān ^{fo. 87^v} belongs to the territory of Ṣafad as it did when it was conquered by the ^{l. 1} Ottomans.

At a distance of a cannon's range (*top menzili*) to the west of this lake is a barren rock which rises to a considerable height (lit. it pushes its summit into the sky, *evj-i semāyē ser çekmish*), with a watch-tower. The rocks were sculptured (*oymaq*) by 'Ād b. Shaddād. The Arabs call it Qal'at Qa'qa'.⁴ It has been made by the hand of God (*yed-i qudret*). No marks are seen on its walls.

¹ The name of Wādi al-Leimūn, which has caused so much confusion in earlier days (cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, Vol. III, p. 286 and note 1) has disappeared from some later maps (P.E.F. map; Karte von Palästina (1:50,000) of the Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme; Smith, *Atlas of the Holy Land*), but is still used by the local inhabitants for the Wādi due west of Kh. Zāhiriyye, cf. Survey of Palestine, village maps, Ṣafad sub-district, sheet ez-Zāhiriyye, V, IX, and the Wādi north-west and north of esh-Shūne, *l.c.*, sheet esh-Shūne, III, IX.

² The Oued Deir Antar of Guérin (*ibid.*, p. 406).

³ This name which survives in 'Ain Minya and Khān Minya is otherwise unknown.

⁴ A place called Qa'qa'iyye (spelt قنقية, K'āk'iyyeh) appears on the P.E.F. map VI, Q. h., to the south of Tiberias at a distance of over a kilometre from the shore, but as the following description shows, Evliya has confused to a certain extent Qal'at Qa'qa' (قلعه قنقية) with Qal'at Ibn Ma'n to the west of Majdal and north-west of Tiberias.

In the year (*omitted*) some Druzes, the vile people (*ḥasharāt*) of the son of Ma'n, hid themselves with their spoils (*sc.* in this tower). Küçük Aḥmed
 fo. 87^v Pasha sent an army (against them), which dug a hole from the summit of the
 l. 5 high mountain and fired into those caves, whereupon the accursed inmates of those caves were scared to death. The caves were taken and safe conduct was granted. The wealth of Croesus (*māl-i Qārūn*) which was brought out from there was divided amongst the Moslem *ghāzis*. It is a wondrous fortress, difficult of access. Its gate looks towards the west. The rock has been so cut that a way for only one man was opened. It is impossible to approach it from elsewhere. Arriving at the gate one has to ascend by a scaling ladder to the height of a minaret, thus gaining access through the gate. The caves are profusely gilded from within and painted in many colours. Water gushes forth from the rocks. Each cave could take in a thousand persons. The caves communicate with each other. That high mountain is honeycombed from top to bottom with similar caves. At present they are not inhabited.

A similar fortress is that called after Armenag in the Şanjaq of Selefke (Seleucia Trachaea or Seleucia Ciliciae). That one too is an impregnable
 fo. 87^v fortress, yet the Qal'a Qahqaha is higher. After having visited this fortress
 l. 10 (*seyr ve tamāshā*) we went for an hour in a western direction. . . .

. . . It is a village in the territory of Şafad, consisting of two hundred Moslem houses. No Druzes live here. It is like a flourishing little town (*buleide*), abounding with vineyards, orchards, and gardens. Water and air are refreshing. A large fair is held there once a week, when ten thousand men would gather from the neighbourhood to sell and buy. It is situated in a spacious valley (*uz*), bordered on both sides by low rocks. There is a mosque, a public bath, and a caravanserai in it. A shrine, called the Teyké Mughraby, inhabited by over one hundred dervishes, lies amidst verdant gardens, like that of Iram, where lemons, citrus medica, olive and fig trees and date palms grow. Here travellers are entertained freely. It is an unequalled tekyé.

fo. 87^v The reason for reviving (*iḥya*) this shrine is that the Sheikh 'Imād ed-dīn,
 l. 15 of the issue of the prophet Shu'eib, lies buried there. The family of the prophet Shu'eib is connected with this tekyé. On one side of it are caves, while gardens extend on the other. The saint lived in this shrine, as did also his forefathers. Sheikh 'Imād ed-dīn lived for two hundred years in continence and in fighting the infidels (*mujāhid*). When Saladin, sultān of Egypt, came to visit him, the saint honoured the sultān by putting his blessed head

¹ The name of this village is not mentioned, but as can be inferred from the mention of the shrine of Nabi Shu'eib, a few lines further, it must be identical with Ḥaṭṭīn. The shrine is still venerated there.

on the sultān's lap, as he breathed his last. He was then buried in this place. Sultān Saladin appointed to (the service of the shrine of) this saint a Moghrabi sheikh from his retinue who was a descendant of the Fatimids. This sheikh built the tekyé, wherefore it is called the Moghrabi tekyé. Sheikh Manşūr al-Mughrabi rests there—may Allah sanctify his soul.

Three hundred paces above this tekyé is that of the prophet Shu'eib,—God's fo. 87^v prayers and peace be on him. There are huge caves (!) under rocks in this valley, l. 20 to the right of the public road. He lies buried in that illuminated cave.

According to the chronicles of Azarya¹ in the times after the Flood the Hermen Mountains in Egypt were called by the people 'Mountains of Pharaoh'. Inscriptions found after the Flood in these mountains were written by the prophet Idrīs and other priests on bones and shoulder-blades of camels, oxen, and sheep, in Arabic and Aramaic script. These inscriptions were collected and put down in writing by a son of Sām, called Azarya. Historical records are still extracted from his chronicles, which contain the narratives fo. 87^v and histories of all prophets and sons of prophets. They are highly valued l. 25 chronicles, held at present in high esteem by the Copts of Egypt. We visited the (shrines of the) prophets following those esteemed statements, copying their description as best we could. May the Creator increase the honour of those whom we visited on our rightly guided visits! May our visits be divinely facilitated (so that we may accomplish them)!

Transl. by ST. H. STEPHAN.
Annotated by L. A. MAYER.

¹ This is the Coptic reckoning.

(To be continued)

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